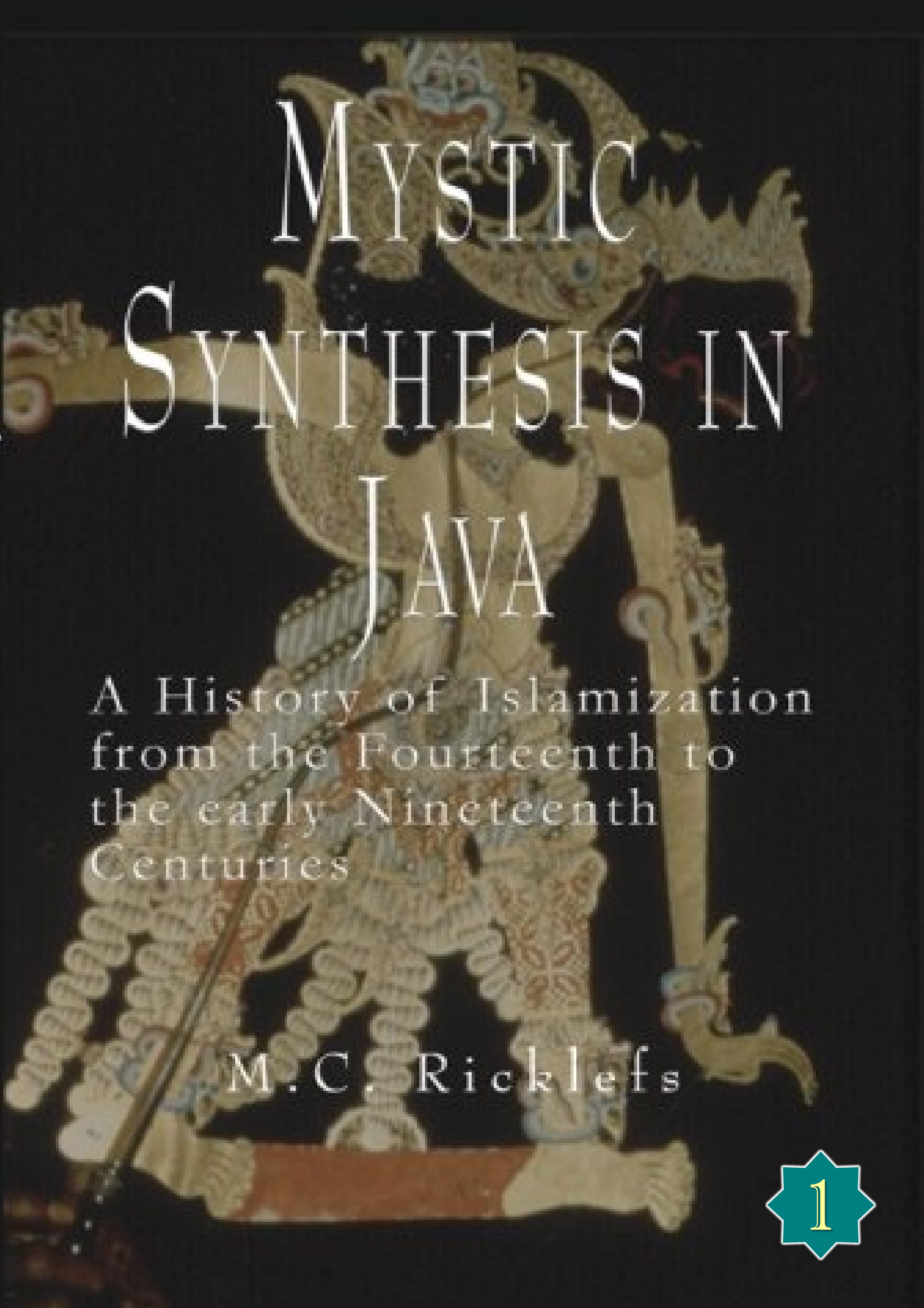
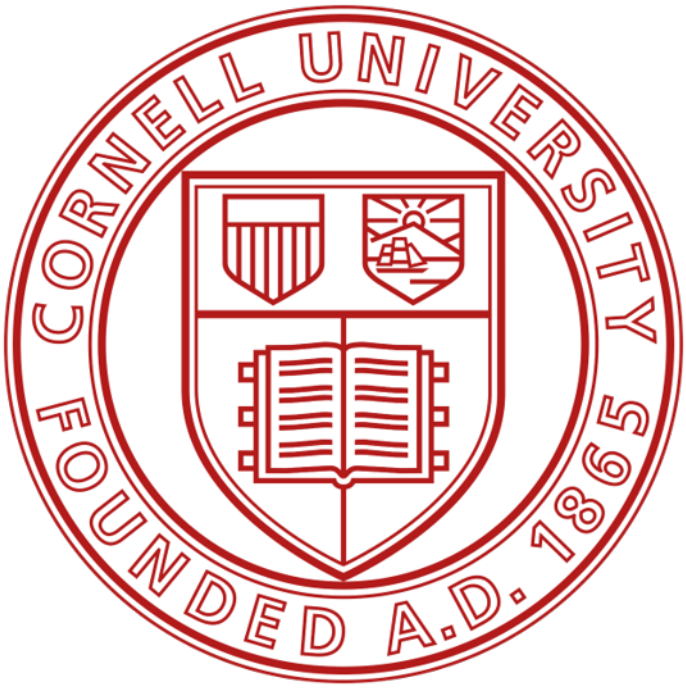


Mystic Synthesis in Java

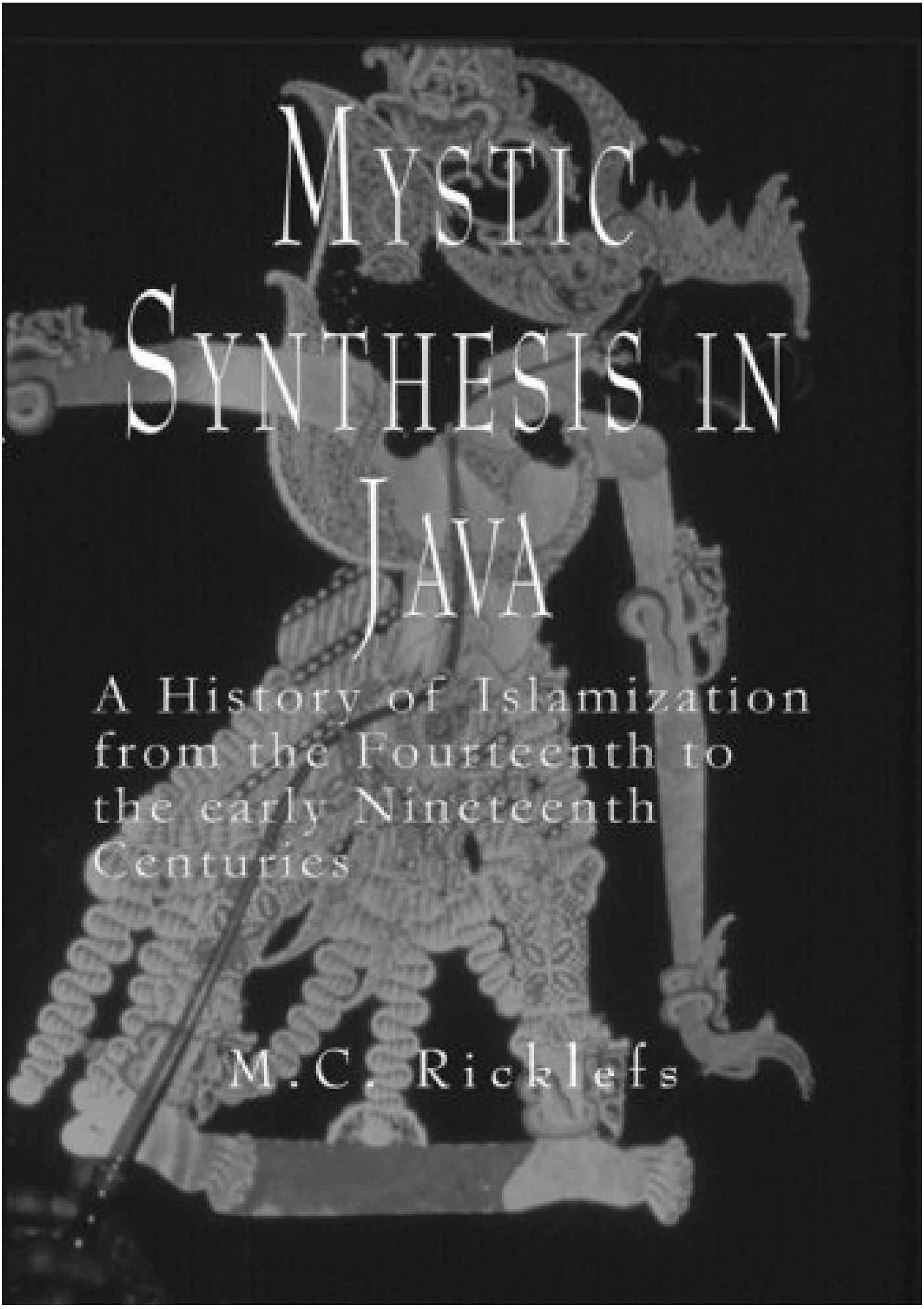
A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the early Nineteenth Centuries

M.C. Ricklefs

1



Cornell University



Mystic Synthesis in Java

A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the early Nineteenth Centuries

M.C. Ricklefs

Original Title:
Mystic Synthesis in Java:
A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to
the Early Nineteenth Centuries

Author:
Merle Calvin Ricklefs

Format: 275 pages, Paperback

First Published: January 5, 2006

Publisher: EastBridge, a nonprofit corporation

ISBN: 9781891936616

ACCESSION NO. 05687
DATE - 1 AUG 2016
CALL NUMBER

Contents

Transcription and Orthography vii
Abbreviations viii
Maps xi
Illustrations xi

Introduction 3
A Society and Its Boundaries
Chapter 1 11
Transformations to the Early Seventeenth Century
Chapter 2 33
Sultan Agung, the Reconciler, 1613-46
Chapter 3 55
Creating a New Pattern in the Later Seventeenth Century: Islam as Opposition
Chapter 4 72
A Dynasty in Search of an Identity, 1680–1726
Chapter 5 103
The Second Reconciliation:
The Grandmother and the Ṣūfī King, 1726–49
Chapter 6 151
Variegated Styles in Islamic Java, from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to the Early Nineteenth Century
Chapter 7 195
The Mystic Sythesis:
Sĕrat Cĕnthini and Prince Dipanagara
Conclusion 221
Achieving Mystic Synthesis

Glossary 237
Bibliography 239
Index 257

INTRODUCTION

A SOCIETY AND ITS BOUNDARIES

Societies that sit on or move across what we think of as boundaries—cultural, political, religious, and others—are of particular interest, for they take us closer to the question of what we are as human beings. By observing what people believe and do on these boundaries, we may gain a sense of the reality of the boundaried categories themselves. By watching societies and individuals move across boundaries, we may ask ourselves who we are, what categories are ours, and whether it matters.

Java is one of the world's great boundary-crossing societies. Throughout their recorded history, the Javanese have combined an openness to new ideas with cultural sophistication, a penchant for leaving behind literary sources of value to historians, and a fortunate location. Java is close to one of the main maritime trading routes of the world—the one that runs by sea from Japan and China in the east, through Southeast Asia and the extraordinarily narrow Straits of Malacca (the funnel through which so much of the trade of Asia has passed), to India and thence onward to East Africa, the Middle East, and eventually Europe. Java was long the source of some of the major trade items in that commerce, notably rice and textiles. The modern world citizen who buys a brand-name shirt and discovers that it is "made in Indonesia" is heir to Javanese manufacturing and trading traditions of many centuries' standing. All of this means that Javanese had an opportunity to encounter other peoples and their ideas, and an inclination to adopt whatever seemed of value. While Javanese were no doubt proud of who they were and how they did things, they were nevertheless receptive to new ideas that seemed useful to them.

In discussing Islamization in Java, it will sometimes be useful to

employ the concept of "identity." As I use the term in this book, I mean the perception of membership within distinguishing boundaries that a group regards as defining itself, as expressing significant shared characteristics. All of us have multiple identities at any moment, but in some circumstances one or another of these memberships is the most salient. Here we ask how a society in which religion was very important, and which defined itself religiously by Indian-derived faiths and/or local beliefs, came to be one whose definition of religious identity derived from Islam. This was a major cultural and social change, one that gives Javanese history in this period much wider historical interest.

Not everything about the Javanese case is, however, pleasing to historians. Notably, the Javanese language and the literary works that employ it are notoriously difficult, even for modern Javanese people, let alone foreign researchers. And there are some formidable gaps in the historical record. The tropical climate of Java is not kind to documents unless they are written on stone or metal, and even those are not entirely immune to the effects of weather and accident. So the fascination of the history is clear, but putting it together is a formidable task.

The predilection of the Javanese for adopting new ideas is evidenced from earliest times. The first written records and the earliest surviving evidence of buildings, from the first millennium AD, show that local societies had adopted Indian-style cultural patterns. They were Hindus and Buddhists and, in a manner characteristic of the synthesizing genius of Java, Hindu-Buddhists. The first surviving written record in the Old Javanese (as opposed to Sanskrit or Old Malay) language is a stone inscription from Central Java dated Ś 726/AD 804. So by the time the story told in this book opens, in the fourteenth century, we may be confident that elite Javanese society was a sophisticated, literate, politically developed one with its own indigenized literary, religious, political, and other traditions, which had been enriched by borrowing new ideas from elsewhere.

Pre-Islamic Old Javanese literature exemplifies the creativity, sophistication, and inventiveness of the courts of Java before the coming of Islam.[1] Zoetmulder pointed out how Indian epics were adopted into Old Javanese, but the settings were Javanized and various styles and particularities were altered to meet the requirements of Old Javanese poetry (*kakawin*). Among the chief of these was fulfilling the demands of *kalangwan* or *kalangön:* the cult of beauty.[2] Thus, among the Old Javanese works with Indian prototypes we find such familiar items as

Parwa literature, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāratayuddha,* but they had become Javanese works of literature. In comparing the Old Javanese *Bhāratayuddha* with the Sanskrit *Māhabhārata,* Zoetmulder observed that the Old Javanese poet left the structure of the story intact, but "he . . . took the liberty to insert a number of passages . . . without which his work would have satisfied the requirements of the *kakawin* tradition insufficiently and would have lacked the essential features of *kalangön*."[3] Similarly, in the Old Javanese versions of these works, the time divisions of the day, the seasons, and the flora and fauna are those of Java.[4]

Old Javanese literature illustrates also the deep religiosity of Javanese culture. This literature was, as Zoetmulder put it, *religio poetae.* One of the purposes of this entire literary cult of beauty was to induce the descent of a particular god, with whom the poet sought unity. Just as a stone temple or statue was a means to induce the descent of a god to the material realm, so a *kakawin* was a literary temple, serving the same purpose. A *kakawin* was, thus, a form of worship, and writing was *yoga.*[5] Such ideas continued to play a powerful role in Java long after Islamization had begun.

Before the coming of Islam, then, Java had already produced a highly sophisticated society, major works of literature, some of the most wonderful Hindu and Buddhist architecture and statuary in the world, and several major kingdoms. As will be seen below, the early-sixteenth-century Portuguese observer Tomé Pires was much impressed by the wealth and sophistication he saw in Java.[6] The heathen (i.e., still Hindu-Buddhist) aristocrats whom he encountered were robust, tall, and "lavishly adorned," bearing weapons inlaid with gold, as were also their saddles and stirrups. These were lords of the kingdom of Majapahit, by then in its last days, but which was the glory of Java in the fourteenth century. It was during the age of Majapahit that Islamization appears to have begun in Java.[7]

The story of Java's cultural transitions, its crossing of boundaries, continued. After something like a thousand years of adopting Hindu and Buddhist ideas and influence, Javanese began to adopt Islam. The story of that Islamization is complex, full of surprises, and over six hundred years long. It is far from over today. During those six centuries, Javanese have also found much else to adopt, from European, American, Chinese, Middle Eastern, and other sources. Java today—the home to around 110 million people—has one of the most complex

and vibrant cultures in the world. Javanese people have been greatly enriched, but also at times troubled and conflicted, by cultural and religious change, and by the social and political upheavals that have attended them. Many a Javanese today will piously fulfill the obligations of Islam, enjoy *wayang* (shadow-play) performances telling of Hindu heroes, keep up with modern world literature, drive a Japanese car and use a mobile phone in a teeming metropolis, criticize Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands, fear Islamic militants, distrust America and its allies while admiring their institutions, and hope to send her or his children to study overseas in a Western society. But there have always been others who contested and denounced such creative eclecticism and synthesis.

Pending the outcome of research that is under way as this is being written, the broad outlines of Java's version of Islamization seem to be as follows. From the time of the first evidence of Javanese Muslims in the fourteenth century we see signs of discord and conflict. After some four and a half centuries of complicated and often violent history, the people who spoke the Javanese language appear to have come to see themselves as more genuinely a single group, the Javanese, and a group whose core religious identity was defined by Islam.

What might have been a sort of culmination of this long episode of Islamization by the early nineteenth century was, however, interrupted by extraordinary events shortly thereafter. Colonial rule after 1830 across all of Java imposed European exploitation and new political realities and cultural styles, the latter being attractive to some of the Javanese elite and at least a warning to others not to display notable Islamic piety if they wished to retain their standing. Meanwhile, early waves of Islamic revivalism and reform spread across Java, demanding greater commitment to Islam and winning adherents, including among those who sought community, justification, ideology, and supernatural support in their dislike of foreign infidel rule. But this was not a simple class matter, nor a distinction between those who were willing (or felt compelled) to collaborate with the colonial rulers and those who were not. For among common Javanese as well as the elite, among those who rejected colonial rule as well as those who were prepared to live with it, many were unwilling to accept a more demanding version of Islam. So from around the 1850s in some parts of Java and perhaps later elsewhere, Javanese society began to divide itself into two groups defined by their Islamic commitment: the ma-

jority *abangan* (the red or brown), who were nominal Muslims, and the *putihan* (the white), pious believers.

This *abangan-putihan* distinction (which, after its study by Clifford Geertz in the 1950s, came to be called an *abangan-santri* distinction) hardened and became politicized, particularly in the early twentieth century in the context of anticolonial resistance movements.[7] It was frequently violent, but it became bloody on a significant scale only in the postcolonial period, with Dutch rule and its policing functions removed. Both during the Indonesian Revolution (1945–49) and at the transition from the Sukarno to Soeharto regimes in 1965–66, much bloodshed occurred in Java, which is in part to be explained by the depth of politicized *abangan-putihan* conflicts. It was during this period, when the Dutch ruled and studied Indonesia and, later, when American political scientists were attracted to study it, that the *abangan-putihan* categories became known to the scholarly community. But they were then taken to be something "primordial," a social cleft of deep sociohistorical origin and enduring significance. These social distinctions were, however, historically contingent and, in historical terms, of no great antiquity. When Geertz studied this phenomenon in the area of Kĕdhiri in the 1950s, it was probably less than a century old—less than three generations. Ironically, the *abangan-putihan* conflict entered world social science knowledge and was widely expected to worsen just as it was on the verge of abatement.

The most recent stage of the Islamization of Javanese society occurred in the last four decades. With the Soeharto regime's destruction after 1966 of the political parties that most represented *abangan* Javanese (the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI, and the Indonesian Nationalist Party, PNI), the commitment of activist Muslims to the grassroots completion of Islamization, and specific political and social developments of the late twentieth century, Java's Islamization proceeded apace, free of many of the barriers it had faced during colonial times and Sukarno's presidency.

This is a long and complex story, one that can tell us much about how societies change and how religions change them, about how they cross boundaries. For over six centuries Javanese have been doing this, and leaving enough evidence for historians to attempt to make sense of the story. But each of the major stages in this story has particular problems about it. The first, from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries—the subject of this book—is evidenced in primary

sources that are scattered across four centuries, held in archives and libraries in many places around the world, often fragmentary in character, in total voluminous, and commonly quite difficult. They are written mainly in Javanese (almost exclusively in verse) and Dutch (in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century version found in Dutch East India Company records), but there are also some in Chinese, Portuguese, and other languages. I have been working in the records of this period for some thirty-five years, learning all the while from the contributions of other scholars. It is only now that I think it possible to draw together into a single volume the material regarding Java's Islamization over the whole period. For the time from c. 1830 to c. 1920, there is still a vast amount of important material that has not yet been researched. That work is now under way. For the most recent period, covering the last eighty years or so, there is the flood of primary material that usually attends the study of modern history, a range of secondary sources of extraordinarily high quality, and nevertheless a lot of unanswered—indeed unasked—questions about Javanese society and its relationship with Islam.

The purpose of this book is to present the history of how a synthesis of being Javanese and being Muslim was achieved by the early nineteenth century. As the title suggests, mysticism is a key element in that history. I hope to present an account accessible to readers who have no specialist knowledge of Javanese or Indonesian history, but who wish to come to terms with this most interesting case of long-term cultural change.

It will be clear from the footnotes and bibliography that a good deal of this book rests upon my own work over the last several decades. Some of it consists of materials and arguments that I have presented elsewhere in more specialized publications, but there is also previously unpublished material that did not fit into books and articles written to different themes. Much, of course, rests upon the work of others, whose contributions are gratefully acknowledged in the footnotes. I thank particularly two outstanding scholars whom it has been my great privilege to know as friends, and whose work I have long admired. Both Professor Martin van Bruinessen and Dr. Peter B. R. Carey have given me valuable ideas and have helpfully commented upon the first draft of this book. They bear no responsibility for the errors and shortcomings that undoubtedly remain in the pages below, but they deserve much of the credit for the book's virtues.

[1] For detailed discussion, see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature,* KITLV translation series 16 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

[2] Ibid., p. 36.

[3] Ibid., p. 279.

[4] The principal exception is the lion, which is unknown in Java but—as is also true in Western cultures—achieved such a mythic status that it appears in both Old and Modern Javanese literature.

[5] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, pp. 173–85.

[6] P. 18 below.

[7] Most scholars would say that Geertz misused the term *santri,* which properly meant a student of religion but not the whole social category of non-*abangan*. But Geertz's influence has been so great that even among Javanese the term *santri* has subsequently become the common term for a devout Muslim. In this book, I retain what I regard as the proper terminology, as evidenced in historical sources, because we will also discuss *santri* in the original meaning. See Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964).

MOZAIK

Sumber: Riset tirto.id
TEG

tirto.id

MERLE CALVIN RICKLEFS

1943
Lahir di Fort Dodge, Iowa Amerika Serikat

1969
Pertama kali riset ke Indonesia tentang Pangeran Mangkubumi

1974
Jogjakarta *Under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java* karyanya terbit

2008
Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200–2008 terbit, sebagai pelanjut dari edisi sebelumnya

2019
Meninggal dunia di Melbourne

CHAPTER 1

TRANSFORMATIONS TO THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A Javanese source from the early stages of Islamization admonished its audience, "If there is one who declares in favour of *kāfir* [infidel] ascetism or the ascetism of [heathen] hermits, that one has become a *kāfir*." Further, "When someone says, 'Which is better, the religion of Islam or the religion of Java?', that is unbelief."[1] Thus, in this text—a problematic historical source, as will be seen below—boundaries of commitment and identity seemed to be firmly drawn between followers of Islam, on one hand, and followers of heathen asceticism (*tapa ni[ng] wong kapir*), the ways of heathen hermits (*tapaning yogi*), or Javanese religion (*gama Jawa*), on the other. Yet an astute early-sixteenth-century Portuguese visitor to the north coast of Java, Tomé Pires, reported that there were still about fifty thousand non-Muslim ascetics (*tapas*) in Java. "And these men are also worshipped by the Moors, and they believe in them greatly; they give them alms; they rejoice when such men come to their houses."[2] Conflict over differences of religious practice was thus invisible to Pires.

From the ill-documented and lengthy process of Islamization in Java, there survives evidence to suggest both that the transition provoked crises of identity and that it did not. One must accept that the earliest documentary record is insufficient to resolve this issue. It is nevertheless fruitful to examine the fragmentary evidence of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, for this conveys a sense of the complexity and possibilities that confronted those Javanese about whose lives we have some evidence—principally members of the upper echelons of society—as they faced a transition from one world religion to another. The aim here is not to review all of the issues, evidence, and arguments concerning Islamization in general; that has been done before with as little certainty of outcome as is to be expected on the basis of

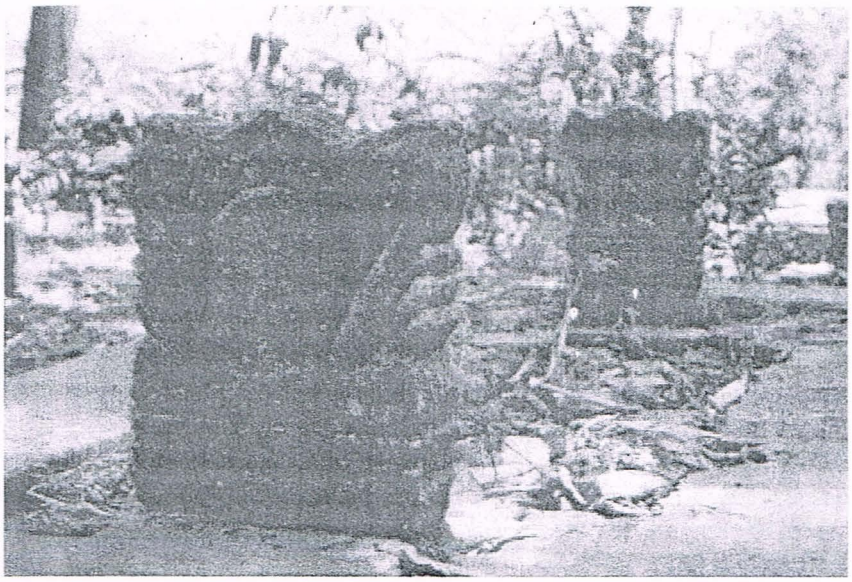
the surviving evidence.[3] Rather, here the definition of identity and its transformation are the central concerns.

The earliest surviving evidence of Javanese who were Muslims are the gravestones of Trawulan and Tralaya in East Java, near the site of the royal capital of Majapahit.[4] The earliest (at Trawulan) is dated ś 1290 (AD 1368–69). These stones are remarkable evidence for early accommodation of Islam by the Javanese elite. At this time, the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit was at the very height of its grandeur. King Rājasaṇagara (Hayam Wuruk, r. 1350–89) was praised in the Old Javanese epic poem *Deśawarṇana* or *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, composed by the Buddhist author Prapañca in ś 1287 (AD 1365).

> He is present in invisible form at the focus of meditation, he is Śiwa and Buddha, embodied in both the material and the immaterial;
>
> As King of the Mountain, Protector of the Protectorless, he is lord of the lords of the world,
>
> And as the deity of deities that one sets one's heart upon, the inconceivable of the inconceivable, being and non-being are his expressions in the world.
>
> All-pervading and imminent, representing all the basic principles, he is the epithetless to the Waiṣṇawas;
>
> To the yogis he is Īswara, the universal soul to Kapila, and he is Jambhala manifest as the deity of wealth;
>
> He is Wāgindra as the deity of all the sciences, Manasija in the treatises on love,
>
> And in putting into practice the removal of obstacles he is Yamaraja, having as the fruits of his deeds the welfare of the world.[5]

In this opening passage, the king was equated to both Śiwa and Buddha and depicted as "the highest divinity or form of truth, no matter what religions or philosophical school of thought one belongs to."[6] The *Deśawarṇana* goes on to describe "the awe-inspiring royal palace," the king's royal progresses, and other affairs of the dynasty. It describes Śiwa and Buddhist clergy, courts, and villages but makes no reference to the presence of Islam in Java.

Yet there were already Muslims at the court. The Trawulan and Tralaya graveyards are located at the site of Majapahit's capital city. There are found burial sites that are indubitably Islamic, but which have distinctive features. The use of the Indian Śaka era and Javanese numerals rather than the Islamic Anno Hijrae and Arabic numerals to date several



Early Gravestone, Trawulan

gravestones leads to the presumption that these mark the final resting place of indigenous Javanese followers of Islam rather than of Muslims from elsewhere. Moreover, on several of these stones are found distinctive sunburst medallions also found on other forms of Majapahit art, suggesting that these were in fact the graves of members of the Majapahit royal family.[7]

The earliest of the dated Tralaya gravestones carries the date ś 1298 (AD 1376–77) in Old Javanese numerals on one side and a pious Islamic formula in Arabic language and script on the other. Later stones in the Tralaya series down to ś 1397 (AD 1475–76) have a similar combination of date and inscription, several also being adorned with the Majapahit sunburst medallion. Damais observes that the Arabic orthography for the *Shahāda* (Confession of faith) is faulty on three stones, suggesting that the inscriber knew how to pronounce the Confession orally in Arabic but was less confident about writing it in that language.[8] One of the most remarkable graves to be seen at Trawulan is undated and hence difficult to employ historically but is notable for its use of Śiwa *linggas* (Hindu phallic symbols) as head- and footstones. Of course, this bizarre arrangement might be quite recent. Someone could have taken *linggas* from a Śiwa site at any time and

Siwa *Linggas* used as Islamic gravestones, Trawulan

placed them on an Islamic grave. But at least this grave reflects an utter absence at some time of any sense that being a Muslim precluded the use of Śiwa *linggas* in a pious setting.

If one assumes that in a premodern royal polity such as Majapahit, members of the royal family and entourage were the epitome, the very definers, of cultural and social identity and standards, then what should one make of this evidence from fourteenth-century Majapahit? One can say with some confidence that there were Javanese in the court city—evidently including members of the courtly elite—who saw no problem in being both Javanese and Muslim. They proclaimed their Javaneseness in their use of the local pre-Muslim dating system and numerals, their elite status in the sunburst medallion on the gravestones, and their faith in pious Arabic phrases and Quranic quotations. Yet it is remarkable that Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana*, which is at pains to distinguish and to portray Hindu and Buddhist roles and contributions in Majapahit, makes no reference to Muslims at all. If, within three years of Prapañca's text, there were Javanese Muslims being buried at the royal city, one can be confident

of their presence in his time. He can hardly have failed to know of them, particularly since they apparently included members of the elite, so he must have omitted them from his *Deśawarṇana* intentionally. Since his purpose seems to have been in large part to celebrate his monarch as the supreme Javanese king, the embodiment of all wisdom and divinity, the supreme figure to his people in all their religious varieties, one can only guess that he excluded Muslims from his portrayal because he thought that in some way they could not fit.

The Islamic *Shahāda*—"There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God"—would theoretically have prevented a Javanese Muslim from recognizing royal pretensions to deity. This alone might have been sufficient grounds for Prapañca to exclude them from his panegyric. Similarly, circumcision, Islamic ritual prayer, and burial instead of cremation might have placed Muslims outside the boundaries of Prapañca's vision of the ideal Javanese society. But even Islamic theory could have offered grounds for inclusion if Prapañca had so wished. King Rājasanagara could have been—as other kings were elsewhere in the world and later in Islamized Java—the shadow of God upon the earth to his Muslim subjects. He could have been the key to mystic unity with God. And in any case, theories about faith have often been confounded by the realities of belief and practice in specific circumstances. Certainly the Trawulan and Tralaya gravestones reflect a view that there was no conflict between Javanese and Islamic identities.

There is no need to attempt to reconcile this conflict of evidence, for it tells what one might expect to be told in the early stages of Islamization. It shows elite Javanese embracing Islam and a Buddhist royal scribe refusing to admit them to his picture of the ideal Javanese society and state. It speaks of contested identity. This was the first step in Javanese society's long march to a new perception of itself.

#

There were no wholesale conversions of Javanese to Islam in the period before the early sixteenth century, so far as the evidence shows. The Chinese Muslim Ma Huan first visited the *pasisir* (north coast) of Java in the period 1413–15, as a member of the fourth of Ming admiral Zheng He's massive expeditions. He visited again in 1432. His book *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (The overall survey of the ocean's shores) was first published in 1451 but is now known only in later versions.[9] Ma Huan's descriptions

of Java thus are some forty to sixty years after the Trawulan and Tralaya gravestones first recorded the burials of Javanese Muslims in the interior of East Java, at the court of Majapahit. Yet Ma Huan recognized no Javanese Muslims on the north coast:

> The country contains three classes of persons. One class consists of the Muslim people (*Hui-hui*); they are all people from every foreign kingdom in the West who have migrated to this country as merchants; in all matters of dressing and feeding everyone is clean and proper.
>
> One class consists of Tang [Chinese] people; they are all men from Guangdong [province] and from Zhang[zhou] and Chuan[zhou] and other such places, who fled away and now live in this country; the food of these people, too, is choice and clean; many of them follow the Muslim religion, doing penance and fasting.
>
> One class consists of the people of the land; they have very ugly and strange faces, tousled heads, and bare feet; they are devoted to devil-worship, this country being among the "devil countries" spoken of in Buddhist books; the food which these people eat is very dirty and bad—things like snakes, ants, and all kinds of insects and worms, which are slightly cooked by being tossed in the fire and then eaten. The dogs which they keep in their houses eat from the same utensils as the people, and sleep with them at night; they feel not the least repugnance [about this].[10]

This is a surprising account. Its depiction of indigenous Javanese as savages is utterly inconsistent with what is known from other sources of Java's sophisticated Hindu-Buddhist civilization. So one may guess that Ma Huan's three categories—foreign Muslims, Chinese, and Javanese—do not represent the same groups to whom one would now ascribe those terms. It is not impossible that the people who were pointed out to him as Javanese were Kalangs, a separate social group found on the north coast of Java who were long regarded as inferior creatures by mainstream Javanese society. They have their own distinctive ritual life and an origin myth that ascribes them to a union between a human and a dog.[11]

Perhaps Javanese who embraced Islam in the places Ma Huan observed on the coast adopted the dress and further social practices of the foreign Muslims living there, so that Ma Huan lumped them together as *Hui-hui* and did not recognize a group among them as Javanese who were also Muslims. If this is the explanation of Ma Huan's report, then it suggests that in the cosmopolitan north coast

trading towns, to be both Javanese and Muslim was not a recognized category of identity in the early fifteenth century, even though Javanese aristocrats at the court in the later fourteenth century were able simultaneously to be both.

Subsequent information on Islam in Java before the early seventeenth century relates largely to the north coast. As the pace of international trade quickened along the sea lanes of the Java Sea in response to the rising world demand for Indonesian spices, Java's principal old port of Tuban and multiple new port sites saw the further growth of cosmopolitan trading communities.[12] Grĕsik in East Java was founded by Chinese, reported Ma Huan, and "foreigners from every place come here in great numbers to trade."[13] Many of these foreign settlers, including many Chinese, were Muslims. Among Java's early gravestones is that of Malik Ibrahim, a foreign Muslim who was buried at Grĕsik in AH 822 (AD 1419) and who is locally reputed to have been one of the semilegendary nine saints (*wali sanga*), the first proselytizers of Islam among Javanese.[14]

Meanwhile, in the interior the king of Majapahit remained Hindu-Buddhist.[15] The mid-fifteenth-century Arab sea captain Aḥmad Ibn Majid, who reputedly served as Vasco da Gama's pilot to India, wrote of Java that "both Muslims and infidels dwell there, but its Sultans are infidel."[16] The Islamization of some elite couriers discernible in the fourteenth-century gravestones of Trawulan and Tralaya appears, however, to have continued at Majapahit, even though it did not lead to conversion of the king. The Tralaya series includes gravestones with Śaka dates in Old Javanese numerals and Arabic inscriptions dated ś 1302 [AD 1380–81], ś 1329 [AD 1407–8], ś 1340 [AD 1418–19], ś 1349 [AD 1427–28], ś 1389 [AD 1467–68], and ś 1397 [AD 1475–76].[17] The graves of ś 1389, ś 1349, and ś 1397 and one of the ś 1389 graves also have the Majapahit sunburst medallion, which demonstrates the use of this motif at least as late as AD 1475–76.

The finest external account of Java in the early transitional period is by the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires (c. 1468–1540). He was in Malacca from 1512 to 1515 and personally visited Java's north coast in 1513.[18] He described a rich multiethnic society of predominantly Islamic faith along the north coast as far east as Surabaya. Pires is most important, however, for reporting that the social process under way along the coast was as much one of Javanization as Islamization. It was a case both of foreign Muslims becoming Javanese and of Javanese becoming Muslims.

In the west of the island, where were found the ethnic Sundanese and

their interior Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pajajaran, Muslims were not allowed entry,

> except for a few, because it is feared that with their cunning they may do there what has been done in Java; because the Moors are cunning and they make themselves masters of countries by cunning.[19]

In the Javanese-speaking heartland of Central and East Java, the Javanese monarch in the interior was still Hindu-Buddhist. Indeed, it is known from other sources that the remnant of the Majapahit kingdom did not fall to Islamic conquerors until c. 1527.[20] The grandeur of the court—which Pires could only know by repute—much impressed him, for he wrote that

> the Javanese heathen lords are tall and handsome; they are lavishly adorned about their persons, and have richly caparisoned horses. They use krises, swords, and lances of many kinds, all inlaid with gold. They are great hunters and horsemen—stirrups all inlaid with gold, inlaid saddles, such as are not to be found anywhere else in the world. The Javanese lords are so noble and exalted that there is certainly no nation to compare with them over a wide area in these parts. . . . The lords of Java are revered like gods, with great respect and deep reverence.[21]

Pires did meet one nobleman from the interior court, who visited Tuban to see the Portuguese:

> He had three handsomely caparisoned jennets with stirrups all inlaid, with cloths all adorned with richly worked gold, with beautiful caparisons. . . . He was robust, tall, freckled, with his curly hair on the top and frizzy; and they all did him obeisance.[22]

This grandeur appears to have exerted a cultural attraction upon the parvenu Muslim settlers of the north coast. Pires described their emulation of the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese style:

> I did not see the courtesies in the interior of the island of Java at the king's court. I saw them on the sea coast in the Moors' country. These Moorish *pates* [lords] . . . are great lords, and when they speak of courtesy and civility they say that there is every thing at court, and riches.[23]

Pires recorded what he was told and could himself observe of the dual processes of Islamization and Javanization in the Islamic port towns.

> At the time when there were heathens along the sea coast of Java, many merchants used to come, Parsees, Arabs, Gujaratis, Bengalis, Malays and other nationalities, there being many Moors among them. They began to trade in the country and to grow rich. They succeeded in way of making mosques, and mollahs [teachers] came from outside, so that they came in such growing numbers that the sons of these said Moors were already Javanese and rich, for they had been in these parts for about seventy years. In some places the heathen Javanese lords themselves turned Mohammedan, and these mollahs and the merchant Moors took possession of these places. Others had a way of fortifying the places where they lived, and they took people of their own who sailed in their junks, and they killed the Javanese lords and made themselves lords; and in this way they made themselves masters of the sea coast and took over trade and power in Java.
>
> These lord *pates* are not Javanese of long standing in the country, but they are descended from Chinese, from Parsees and Kling, and from the nations we have already mentioned, However, brought up among the bragging Javanese, and still more on account of the riches they have inherited from their antecessors, these men made themselves more important in Javanese nobility and state than those of the hinterland; and each of them is reverenced in his land as though he were something much greater. . . . And those of the *pates* who are along the sea-coast of Java and who do not yet feel so noble as those inland—because they were slaves and merchants a couple of days ago—are so proud that all of them are respected as if they were lords of the world.[24]

The old port of Tuban was an exception to this general pattern. Its lord, reported Pires,

> is Javanese by birth; his grandfather was a heathen and afterwards became Mohammedan. This man does not seem to me to be a very firm believer in Mohammed.[25]

Whereas the other Muslim lords of the coast were frequently at war with the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in the interior, the lord of Tuban remained allied to the interior ruler, and thus "all the Moorish *pates* of Java hate him because he is friendly with the *Cafre* [*kāfir*, unbeliever]."[26] One should not, however, conclude from this comment that conflict between Tuban, as an ally of Majapahit, and the other Islamic coastal states rested on religious sensibilities rather than political allegiances

and motivations. As was pointed out in the quotation at the start of this chapter, Pires reported that the *pasisir* Muslims greatly esteemed the pre-Islamic ascetics (*tapas*) of Java, of whom he said there were "about fifty thousand." So coastal Islam seems, on this evidence, to have preserved a considerable measure of religious tolerance. The *pasisir*-Majapahit conflict seems thus to have been predominantly geopolitical in character.

Pires' account is, in general, astute and evidently reliable. His depiction of the social dynamics of Java at this time is therefore to be taken seriously. Unlike Ma Huan a century or less before him, Pires clearly recognized Javanese who had embraced Islam, but importantly he also recognized non-Javanese Muslims who had embraced characteristic patterns of Javaneseness. One may be confident that such categories would have been marked by identifiable signs such as clothing, language, mannerisms, names, patterns of marriage, and political allegiances. We thus gain the impression of a two-by-two matrix of identity at this time in Java, the two axes being Javanese–non-Javanese and Muslim–non-Muslim. In the interior were Javanese non-Muslims and, on the evidence of the Tralaya gravestones, Javanese Muslims. No doubt non-Javanese would also have been present in the court city. On the coast were Javanese Muslims, non-Javanese Muslims, and—a category of little concern to this discussion—undoubtedly non-Javanese non-Muslims.[27] Pires reported that to the east of Surabaya, the coast was still occupied by Javanese non-Muslims and, as noted above, that Javanese non-Muslim *tapas* were still to be found in significant numbers along the Islamized *pasisir*.[28] Pires' *Suma Oriental* conveys a sense of the dynamics of civilizational change in the direction of an amalgamation of identities. As Javanese became Muslims and foreign Muslims became Javanese, a new dominant social paradigm must have been emerging that could be called both Javanese and Islamic.

Throughout the sixteenth century and after, ethnic identities and allegiances remained fluid on the *pasisir*. There are multiple references to Chinese who adopted Islam and took Javanese names. As more Europeans arrived, they, too, were found among those who converted to Islam and to a Javanese identity, although not all of them may have done so voluntarily.[29] The evidence from this period is very fragmentary, often less informative than one might wish, and of uncertain reliability. But it does convey a sense of civilizational change,

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

of emerging identities, among the people living in Java. There were choices for people to make, and one of them was evidently to be a Javanese Muslim.

#

None of the evidence considered so far, however, tells us directly what any Javanese thought about the new faith, how they understood the meaning of Islam's message and its implications for them. Fortunately, two Javanese manuscripts have been preserved that are indubitably from the sixteenth century. Both were brought back to Europe by the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies of 1595–97. Their age at that point and their provenance is uncertain, but it is reasonable to accept that both were from the *pasisir* of Java. Although little is known of sixteenth-century Javanese paleography, the script of both manuscripts seems consistent with a *pasisir* provenance. Both were published in text and translation by G. W. J. Drewes.

One of these works is conventionally called a *primbon*—a Javanese term meaning "handbook" or "notebook." The sixteenth-century *primbon* edited by Drewes contains Islamic teachings probably compiled by one or more students of some unknown teacher. The language and script are Javanese, thereby locating the work in Javanese civilization in an elementary sense, but it contains Malayisms, suggesting that these may be notes in Javanese of lessons given in Malay or perhaps Arabic. The book naturally abounds with standard Arabic phrases and references to orthodox Arabic literature.[30]

Since this work comes from the century in which Tomé Pires reported that Javanese Muslims revered Hindu-Buddhist ascetics and that the lord of Tuban, at least, did not seem to him to be a very firm believer, it is important to note that the sixteenth-century *primbon* teachings are orthodox. Orthodoxy in Islam is a complex and much-debated issue, but there can be no doubt that the *primbon* is within the fold. Drewes observed that its teachings could be found in any Islamic land and denied that there is any "adaptation to the Javanese environment" to be found in the work.[31] With regard to the former, Drewes' judgment is authoritative, but with regard to the latter there is more to be said.

It is important to note also that the *primbon*'s contents are mystical. This is Ṣūfī Islam, *taṣawwuf*, the branch of the Islamic faith that has predominated in the history of Islam in Java. It is a common view among

scholars that the mystical orientation of Islam in Java would have assisted its spread there, given the previous religious commitment to Hindu and Buddhist mysticism.[32] There are many complexities in this question, some of which will be pursued in this book, but there can be little doubt that Sufism could have been attractive to a Javanese mystic of the fourteenth century or after.

The *primbon* uses Arabic words, technical terms, and phrases, as one would expect. The prophets are called *nabi,* the saints are called *wali.* The *Qur'ān* is called *Koran;* personal desire is called *napsu* (from Arabic *nafs*). The Devil is called *Setan* and *Iblis,* prayers are called *doa/donga/dunga* (Arabic *do'ā*), spirits are called *jin,* angels are called *malaekat,* the soul is called *roh,* and so on.[33]

But there are some instances where Javanese terms were employed by the writers of this manuscript and thus probably by their religious teachers. The Arabic name for God, *Allah,* appears only in passages in the Arabic language or in standard Arabic terms.[34] The term used for God otherwise is the Javanese word *pangeran.* This goes back to pre-Islamic Old Javanese usage. Its root is *her* or *er,* meaning "to wait" or "to linger." A *pangeran* in Old Javanese is the person one waits upon, the lord or master.[35] In Modern Javanese, *pangeran* is a standard term for a prince. *Pangeran,* like the English word *lord* or the Arabic *rabb,* thus may mean a lord of this world as well as God.

For ritual prayer the *primbon* uses the Javanese word *sambahyang* alongside *salat* (Arabic *ṣalāh*). *Sambahyang* or *sĕmbahyang* likewise derives from Old Javanese *sĕmbah* (Zoetmulder: "worship, veneration, reverence, respectful or reverential salutation")[36] plus *hyang* (Zoetmulder: "god, goddess, deified being, divinity").[37] It thus meant to worship a god or gods in the pre-Islamic period. For ascetics and ascetic practices the *primbon* uses the word also found in Tomé Pires: *tapa* or *atapa.* "That which is called asceticism [*atapa*]," says the *primbon,* "is firstly ritual prayer [*sambahyang*], secondly to recite the *Qur'ān,* thirdly to spend time in the mosque, fourthly to choose companions to spend time with, far from the masses."[38] Heaven is *swarga* or *syarga,* from Sanskrit and Old Javanese, rather than Arabic *janna* or *firdaws.* The immaterial, the innermost soul, is *suksma,* from Sanskrit and Old Javanese *sūkṣma* (Zoetmulder: "subtle, of subtle matter, ethereal, unsubstantial").[39]

The appearance of Javanese terms such as *pangeran, sambahyang, tapa, swarga,* and *suksma* in this sixteenth-century *primbon* for God,

ritual prayer, asceticism, heaven, and the immaterial certainly suggests an accommodation between older and newer religious concepts in Java. There were undoubtedly fixed boundaries of faith and practice that Javanese had to cross to become Muslims. Abandoning cremation for burial (Tomé Pires noted that where Islam stopped on the *pasisir,* widow-burning began), accepting circumcision, not eating certain foods, joining in Islamic ritual prayer, and so on would have required acts of commitment and changes of identity.[40] The sixteenth-century *primbon* suggests that there were cultural connecters that eased this transition. Boundaries could be crossed while carrying weighty cultural paraphernalia from the old religion to the new, like concepts for the Lord, for prayer, for asceticism, for heaven, and for the immaterial. *Pangeran*, *sambahyang*, *tapa*, *swarga* and *suksma* have remained standard terms in Javanese down to the present.

A second sixteenth-century MS, also edited by Drewes, is like the first in being orthodox Sufism.[41] Its contents would support observations like those made above. Some Malayisms are found. Again *pangeran* is the common term for God, *suksma* is the immaterial, *tapa* is used for asceticism, and heaven is *swarga;* multiple other examples of such usages are to be found. The text differs, however, in giving extensive attention to combating false doctrines. This may suggest that the compiler of this work saw such false doctrines around him or her in sixteenth-century Java, which would hardly be surprising, given the transitional state of Javanese religion. But the doctrines that are denounced are Islamic in origin: those of Ibn 'Arabī and of groups called Bāṭiniyya, Karrāmiyya, Mutangiyya, and others.[42] There is no denunciation of doctrines that are labeled Hindu, Buddhist, or Javanese. The intellectual frame of reference of this work is thus wholly Islamic, but its linguistic and cultural context is Javanese. It therefore suggests successful amalgamation of Javanese and Islamic elements in the mind of the author of this work.

A third manuscript from the early stages of Islamization in Java, also published by Drewes, presents a different picture. This work—quoted at the start of this chapter—is, however, of dubious provenance and antiquity. Unlike the two previous works, whose presence in the Netherlands is documented from the late sixteenth century, no record of this manuscript exists before the 1860s, when the librarian of the Biblioteca Communale Ariostea in Ferrara sought the assistance of the French Orientalist Edouard Dulaurier in identifying the text, with little success.[43] It is undeniable that

the manuscript derived from someplace in Java in the midst of the transition from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam, but that process went on at least from the fourteenth century to the late eighteenth century, when Java's Eastern Salient was Islamized. Drewes' arguments for a fifteenth-, sixteenth-, or seventeenth-century date for this work cannot be persuasive, so one can only conclude that the manuscript was written in such a transitional context at some time somewhere in Java.

This work shows that, whenever and wherever it was written, sharp differences of identity were perceived between those who were Muslim and those who were Javanese. The work draws clear distinctions between Muslims and infidels and recognizes the possibility of apostasy.

> Whoever doubts the contents of this book is a *kāfir*, for in this Islamic faith if one fails to follow its tenets or its rules of behaviour or to profess it, then that person becomes a *kāfir*.
>
> If there is a Muslim who is affected by *kāfir* behaviour without knowledge of having been affected by *kāfir* behaviour, that person is nevertheless a *kāfir* and has fallen away from Islam.[44]

The text warned against the threat to a true believer from false Islamic doctrines. Muslims were admonished, for example, to eschew the Qadiriyya.[45] But the principal threats to a pious Muslim described in this manuscript arose from the Javanese milieu in a time of cultural transition.

Although this work employed Javanese terms for central concepts, as did the two manuscripts described above, including *pangeran* for God, *sambahyang* for prayer, *tapa* for asceticism, and *swarga* for heaven, it nevertheless depicted the transitional Javanese society around it as a threat to the progress of Islam.

> Regarding behaviour all of which is intended to be forbidden: to make light of religion, such as to worship idols and to go along with the religious devotions of a *kāfir*, taking part in these, and to go along with his offerings, or to disparage the book of God, to disbelieve or to make little of the *Qur'ān* of thirty parts by regarding it as not being the word of God.[46]

> Muslims are allowed to reject *kāfirs*, for they are the enemies of God. Now, perfection in Islam is when there is a Muslim who is commanded by a *kāfir* to embrace unbelief, who is commanded but is unwilling to become a *kāfir*. If there is a Muslim who is favourably disposed towards

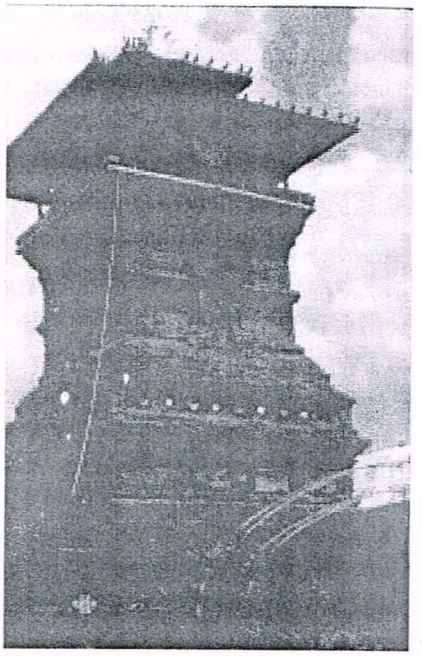
> *kāfirs*, or who respects *kāfirs*, who goes along with the doings of *kāfirs*, accompanied in all their doings, that person has become a *kāfir*.[47]
>
> If there is one who declares in favour of *kāfir* asceticism [*tapani(ng) wong kapir*] or the asceticism of [heathen] hermits [*tapaning yogi*], that one has become a *kāfir*.[48]
>
> Or when there are people disturbed by conflict who are invited to settle it according to Islamic law, but who do not wish to do so and turn to a *kāfir* court, that is unbelief.
>
> When someone says, "Which is better, the religion of Islam or the religion of Java?," that is unbelief. [49]

It must be remembered that the date and provenance of this work cannot be established with confidence. It can be said only that it derives from some time and place in Java where the local society was in transition from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam. This is demonstrated by the references above to the ambient temptations of infidel belief and ritual, to the possibility of a Muslim being commanded to apostatize, to the presence of pre-Islamic *yogis* and of pre-Islamic courts, and finally to the existence of a distinction between Islam and "the religion of Java." This text, however, might have been written anytime between the fourteenth and the later eighteenth centuries.

This final text demonstrates that in the transitional social milieu in which it was written, the author was able to draw very clear boundaries of faith and identity. One was a *kāfir* or a Muslim, a follower of the religion of Java or of Islam, but could not be both. Not for this author the worshiping of pre-Islamic *tapas* that Tomé Pires observed in his time among the Muslim lords of Java's north coast. Of course, these two sources could refer to the same circumstances: to an eclectic religious environment that was observed by Pires and condemned by the anonymous author of this Javanese source. Certainly it seems that the Javanese author could not envisage a religious life and identity that might be labeled both Javanese and Islamic at once.

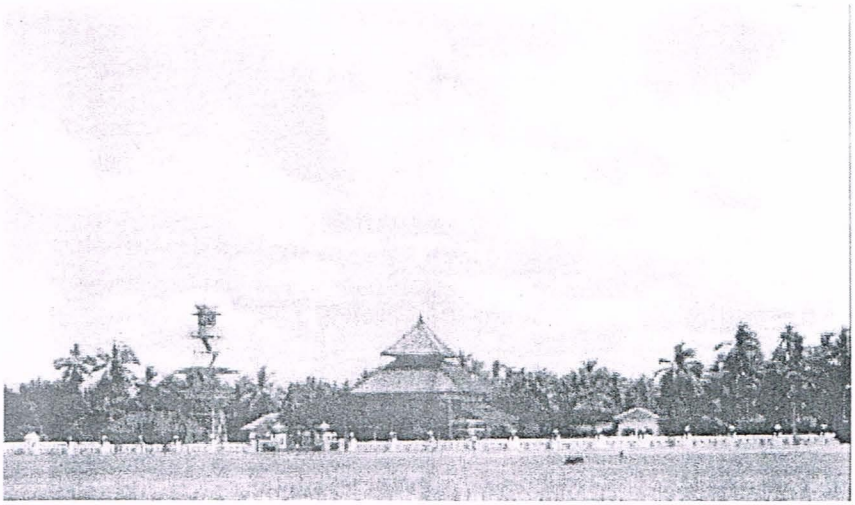
#

The architectural evidence from this early period is not voluminous, but it conveys an impression of cultural accommodation. Kudus, on



Minaret at the mosque of Kudus in Old Javanese style

Java's north coast, is the only town in Java to have been permanently named after a Middle Eastern holy place, al-Quds (the Arabic name for Jerusalem). Its mosque, however, seems thoroughly Javanese. Over the *miḥrāb* (the prayer niche, indicating the direction of Mecca) is the date AH 956 (AD 1549), confirming that this is a mosque of the sixteenth century.[50] Its tower—a sort of minaret—reminds one greatly of an East Javanese or Balinese Hindu temple, complete with Chinese plates in the brickwork for decoration. Its outer wall incorporates a "split gateway" (*candi bĕntar*) typical of Old Javanese pre-Islamic architecture. The mosque of Dĕmak, which is traditionally thought of as the first in Java, has gone through many restorations since its foundation, probably toward the end of the fifteenth century. Its roof is notably in the tiered Javanese style, not some Middle Eastern fashion, and was probably always so. An inscription at an early mosque at Mantingan (near Jĕpara) dated the *miḥrāb* ś 1481 (AD 1559–60).[51] Again here is found the combination of Śaka dating and an Islamic site, as was found also at the Trawulan and Tralaya graves. Bas-reliefs from this old mosque have been incorporated into the modern mosque that replaced the original building. They depict,



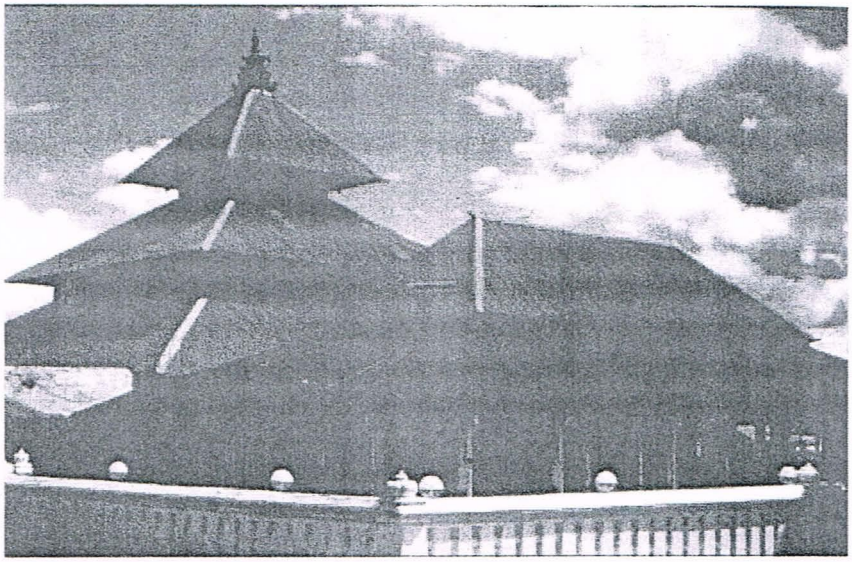
Mosque of Dĕmak

inter alia, a lotus pool with a split doorway, in a style reminiscent of Old Javanese and Balinese carving.[52]

De Graaf and Pigeaud suggested that the Javanese mosque, with its rectangular shape and multiple tiered roofs to which a front gallery (*surambi*) was later added, but without a minaret, may have originated in the architecture of the Chinese pagoda.[53] On balance, this seems a serious (but not the only possible) hypothesis about the genesis of this style of mosque. If it is correct, then the architecture of Java's early mosques mirrors the social circumstances depicted by Tomé Pires—Javanese with pre-Islamic traditions becoming Muslim and foreign Muslims becoming Javanese.

#

The fragmentary evidence considered in this chapter conveys a picture of transition, of contested concepts and of uncertain directions of change. This is, of course, what one might expect from a period of religious transition. There is both evidence of cultural accommodation between Javanese civilization and Islam and of cultural conflict, of hybrid and of conflicting identities. It is difficult to see a clear direction in this material, but it can support certain hypotheses.



Sultan's mosque, Yogyakarta, showing Javanese tiered roofs and front gallery (*surambi*)

The dynamics of this period may have been influenced by social class. Note that the clearest evidence for cultural synthesis relates to elites. The Trawulan and Tralaya gravestones from the later fourteenth to the later fifteenth centuries attest the burial of elite persons, perhaps members of the Majapahit royal family, as both Javanese and Muslims. Although *Deśawarṇana* of 1365 suggests that this conflation of identities may not have been acceptable to all members of Majapahit society, the possibility of being a Javanese Muslim was evidently accepted by some, who indeed ended their lives thus. In the early sixteenth century, Pires wrote of the parvenu Muslim lords of the *pasisir* emulating the style of the Hindu-Buddhist court, worshiping Hindu-Buddhist *tapas* and becoming Javanese. In two sixteenth-century Javanese manuscripts one can see orthodox Islamic thought blending with pre-Islamic Javanese concepts by the adoption of Javanese words for such crucial concepts as God and prayer. One may, however, be wrong to surmise that these works circulated only within the upper classes of Javanese society on the assumption that literary skills were restricted. A Dutch ambassador to the Javanese court, Rijklof van Goens, judged in the mid-seventeenth century that most Javanese could read and write, in contrast to Malays and other peoples of the

archipelago.[54] Other evidence points to strict boundaries: Ma Huan's failure to recognize any Javanese Muslims on the *pasisir* in the fifteenth century and the Ferrara manuscript's strict drawing of boundaries of faith, practice and identity between Islam and the "religion of Java." This Ferrara manuscript may have been the work of a zealot who observed and condemned the cultural amalgamation at work around her or him, directing these instructions at the masses then converting to Islam rather than to the elite. Certainly the text is not focused on doctrinal issues of interest to an educated Muslim elite, which characterized the two sixteenth-century MSS, being instead "a tract concerning true believers."[55] As for Ma Huan, one can only surmise that what he saw was a social context in which being a Javanese and a Muslim at the same time was not a recognized possibility—or that he misunderstood what he saw.

Javanese society appears to have been strongly hierarchical throughout its history. The evidence considered in this chapter suggests that in this age of slow religious transition, within the Javanese elite there were some who could conceive of a reconciliation of Javanese civilization and Islam. Others appear to have denied or disputed this possibility. Nevertheless, by the end of the sixteenth century, being a Javanese and a Muslim was an identity that had attracted members of the social elite from two directions: from those whose ancestors were Muslims but not Javanese and from those whose ancestors were Javanese but not Muslims.

In the chapters that follow, the cultural and social choices of the elite of this hierarchical society will be seen to play a crucial role in the developing cultural synthesis.

Notes

[1] G. W. J. Drewes (ed. and transl.), *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*, Bibliotheca Indonesica 18 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), pp. 34–36.

[2] Armando Cortesão (ed. and transl.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), vol. I, p. 177.

The word *tapa*, which is used both by Pires and by the Javanese source in the preceding quotation, is from Sanskrit and Old Javanese, meaning religious austerity and asceticism or an ascetic or hermit who carries out such practices. See P. J. Zoetmulder with the collaboration of S. O. Robson, *Old Javanese–English Dictionary* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), vol. II, p. 1945.

[3] For a survey of the issues with references to further literature, see M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), ch. 1.

[4] The gravestone at Leran in East Java dated AH 472/AD 1082 is that of a non-

Indonesian Muslim, it seems, and hence is irrelevant to our discussion here. See J. P. Moquette, "De oudste Mohammedaansche inscriptie op Java, n.m. de graafsteen te Leran," *Handelingen van het eerste congres voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Java* (Weltevreden: Albrecht and Co., 1923), pp. 391–99; Paul Ravaisse, "L'inscription confique de Léran à Java," *TBG* vol. 65 (1925), pp. 668–703.

[5] *Deśawarṇana* Canto I: 1–2. The Old Javanese text of the sole MS then known, with an English translation, is to be found in Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History*, 5 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960–63). An improved translation taking account of new MSS discovered in 1979 is in Mpu Prapañca, *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)*, transl. Stuart Robson; *VKI* vol. 169 (London: KITLV Press, 1995). It is Robson's translation that is used here.

[6] Robson, *Deśawarṇana*, p. 97.

[7] Louis-Charles Damais, "L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-est Asiatique," *BEFEO* vol. 54 (1968), pp. 572–73; Louis-Charles Damais, "Étude javanaises, I: Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trålåjå," *BEFEO* vol. 48, pt. 2 (1957), pp. 353–415.

[8] Damais, "Trålåjå," pp. 393–94, 399, 400.

[9] Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433)*, ed. and transl. J. V. G. Mills (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 12–13, 14–15, 37–41.

[10] Ibid., p. 93.

[11] See Friedrich Seltmann, *Die Kalang: Eine Volksgruppe auf Java und ihre Stamm-Mythe; Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Javas* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1987), esp. ch. 6.

[12] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680* (2 vols.; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988–93), vol. II, pp. 1–53.

[13] Ma Huan, *Ying-Yai Sheng-lan*, pp. 89–90.

[14] Damais, "Épigraphie musulmane," p. 571; see further the literature cited by Damais on pp. 600–1. See also Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantĕn: Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913), pp. 30, 247–50.

[15] J. Noorduyn, "Majapahit in the fifteenth century," *BKI* vol. 134, nos. 2–3 (1978), pp. 207–74.

[16] G. R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden and London: E. J. Brill, 1979), p. 211; see also pp. 13–14.

[17] Tombs V, IV, VII, II, III and VIII (both dated ś 1389) and I, respectively. Grave X has a Śaka date expressed with Arabic letters (*abjad*) to give ś 1533 [AD 1611]. See Damais, "Trålåjå."

[18] Cortesão, *Pires*, vol. I, pp. xxv–xxvi.

[19] Ibid., p. 173.

[20] H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java: Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw*, *VKI* vol. 69 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 53–56.

[21] Cortesão, *Pires*, vol. I, pp. 174–75.

[22] Ibid., pp. 191–92. The hairstyle described here, and also referred to by Pires on pp. 175, 177, 178, and 180, is evidently of the type now depicted on *wayang* (shadow-play) puppets.

[23] Ibid., p. 179.

[24] Ibid., pp. 182, 199–200.

[25] Ibid., p. 191.

[26] Ibid., pp. 176, 186, 189, 190–91, 195, 196–97.

[27] Pires reported particularly about the role played before his time by non-Muslim Gujaratis. He noted that the trade of Cambay was in the hands of non-Muslim Gujaratis, who "are . . . settled everywhere"; ibid., pp. 41–42. On the "heathen" Gujaratis in Java, see ibid., pp. 174, 182, 192–93. Pires says that the Gujaratis had ceased direct trade with Java since the foundation of Malacca (ibid., pp. 45–46). The role of non-Muslim merchants in the trade of Malacca is also mentioned in Mansel Longworth Dames (ed. and transl.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (London: The Hakluyt Society 1918–21), vol. II, p. 172.

[28] Ibid., pp. 196–98.

[29] Denys Lombard and Claudine Salmon, "Islam et sinité," *Archipel* no. 30 (1985), pp. 75 et seq.; J. Keuning (ed.), *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelis van Neck en Wybrandt Warwijk, 1598–1600* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938–51), vol. I, p. 55; H. A. van Foreest and A. de Booy (eds.), *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599–1604)* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980–81), vol. I, p. 181.

[30] G. W. J. Drewes (ed. and transl.), *Een Javaanse primbon uit de zestiende eeuw* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), pp. 4–6.

[31] Ibid., p. 3.

[32] The locus classicus of this view is A. H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* vol. 2, no. 2 (1961), pp. 10–23. This has produced much further discussion in the decades since. For a recent reconsideration of the issues, see Anthony H. Johns, "Islamisation in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations with Special Reference to the Role of Sufism," *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu (Southeast Asian Studies)* vol. 31, no. 1 (1993), pp. 43–61, esp. pp. 58–60.

[33] References may be located in the *woordregister* in Drewes, *Primbon*.

[34] E.g., *rahmat ing Allah, Nabiyullah, bismillah,* etc.

[35] Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese–English Dictionary,* vol. I, pp. 620–21.

[36] Ibid., vol. II, p. 1734.

[37] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 659–60.

[38] Drewes, *Primbon*, p. 12 (f. 17a). Spending time in the mosque refers to the practice of *i'tikāf,* as pointed out by Drewes. On this period of pious retreat in a mosque, see H. A. R. Gibb et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Co., 1960–), vol. IV, p. 280.

[39] Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese–English Dictionary,* vol. II, p. 1841.

[40] Cortesão, *Pires,* vol. I, pp. 167, 198.

[41] G. W. J. Drewes (ed. and transl.), *The Admonitions of Seh Bari,* Bibliotheca Indonesica 4 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).

[42] On Bāṭiniyya and Karrāmiyya, see Gibb et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. I, pp. 1098–1100; vol. IV, pp. 667–69. *Mutangiyya* in Javanese must represent Arabic *Muta'iyya,* but I cannot identify this term.

[43] Drewes, *Code,* p. 2.

[44] Ibid., pp. 14–16.

[45] Ibid., p. 20. This is a pejorative term used for a theological group which, as J. van Ess says in Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. IV, pp. 368–72, was "not itself homogeneous" but which generally represented the principle of free will.

[46] Drewes, *Code*, p. 32.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., p. 34.
[49] Ibid., p. 36.
[50] De Graaf and Pigeaud, *Vorstendommen*, p. 97.
[51] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 106; de Graaf and Pigeaud, *Vorstendommen*, p. 271.
[52] For further illustrations from Mantingan, see Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, plates 347–50. See also Denys Lombard, *Le carrefour javanais: Essai d'histoire globale* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990), vol. II, p. 165.
[53] H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, transls., *Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th Centuries: The Malay Annals of Sĕmarang and Cĕrbon*, ed. M. C. Ricklefs (Clayton: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia no. 12, 1984), pp. 150–54. Evidence which supports this conclusion, but from which the Chinese conclusion is not drawn, is presented in H. J. de Graaf, "De oorsprong der Javaanse moskee," *Indonesië* vol. I (1947–48), pp. 289–307. See also de Graaf and Pigeaud, *Vorstendommen*, pp. 248–49; Lombard, *Carrefour javanais*, vol. II, p. 290; G. F. Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," pp. 274–83 in *India Antiqua: A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented by His Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Doctorate* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1947).
[54] H. J. de Graaf (ed.), *De vijf gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens naar het hof van Mataram, 1648–1654* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), p. 184.
[55] Drewes, *Code*, p. 14.

CHAPTER 2

SULTAN AGUNG, THE RECONCILER, 1613–46

By the end of the sixteenth century, the political center of gravity was shifting to the interior of Central Java, where there had not been a royal capital for six centuries. A little-documented but probably bitter period of fragmentation and warfare culminated in a new hegemony exercised from the interior by the dynasty of Mataram. One of the stereotypes of Javanese Islamic history depicts the *pasisir* as more devoutly Islamic than the interior, but there is no evidence that can lend substance to that stereotype in this early period.

The bringing of Islam to the interior is traditionally credited to Sunan Bayat, whose gravesite at Tĕmbayat will be seen below to play a major role in the time of Sultan Agung. But the evidence concerning Sunan Bayat consists solely of later legends.[1] Closer in time to the early Islamization of Java's interior, a Dutch ambassador to the court of Mataram in the 1640s and 1650s, Rijklof van Goens, reported Javanese information that ascribed the introduction of Islam in Mataram to the military feats of the Mataram lord Senapati Ingalaga (r. c. 1584–1601). Around the year 1576, van Goens was told, Senapati embraced Islam.

> And because his neighbours were, in his judgement, stubbornly refusing to adopt this religion with him, he immediately prepared for war, having power and means for this in his hands. He first attacked the most powerful, populous and fruitful province of all, named Mataram, which in a short time he had conquered. He immediately killed with great cruelty all the royal family and their retainers, sparing neither women nor children. He thereupon introduced his newly acquired religion and made his new residence in Mataram, in a new court which was constructed for this purpose after their fashion, and which I have myself seen.[2]

Legends about Senapati ascribe to him both pre-Islamic and Islamic Javanese aspects. Before making his decisive bid for supremacy, it is said, he spent three days in the underwater palace of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (who will be discussed more fully below), where he pursued matters both sexual and supernatural. On his return to shore, he encountered a new advisor, Sunan Kalijaga, one of the legendary Nine Apostles (*wali sanga*) of Islam in Java.[3] But these legends survive only in manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and can provide little help in matters as subtle as evolving cultural identities in the sixteenth century.

From the first Dutch reports about Java from the end of the sixteenth century onward, the historical record begins to become somewhat clearer. There are also some later Javanese manuscript materials that evidently contain recopied seventeenth-century contents. But before the reign of Sultan Agung there is little to assist with the cultural questions that are central to this book. There are records of many military campaigns, as the lords of Mataram fought for dominance against older power centers, particularly those of the *pasisir*. Steadily they succeeded in bringing other states to heel. But not until the reign of Agung was this process complete, and not until then can one say much with confidence about a Javanese and Islamic cultural synthesis.

The early years of Agung's reign from 1613 are notable principally for their brutal campaigns. Year after year the Mataram armies marched to war, subduing rival lords, destroying rice crops, and in some cases removing defeated populations to Agung's own interior districts. His most serious rival was the trading state of Surabaya. From 1620 to 1625 he destroyed Surbaya's crops and periodically besieged the city. Finally he succeeded in damming Surabaya's water supply, obliging the city to surrender to him.[4] Thus were the foundations laid for Agung's legendary status as the greatest monarch of Islamized Java.

The appellation "Sultan Agung" is a kind of historical shorthand, for the ruler did not acquire the title of sultan until 1641, five years before his death. "Sultan Agung" means merely "the great sultan," a deserved commemoration of his achievements, however bloody they may have been. Before 1641, he used a series of titles, all indigenous in origin and none obviously Islamic in inspiration. Reports from the few Europeans who visited the court nevertheless suggest that Agung was a pious Muslim, which is indeed the way that indigenous chronicles depict

him. In 1624 Jan Vos noted that the ruler wore a white *kuluk,* a sort of fez that may have been a mark of Islamic piety in Java, and that there were long-bearded men around him, whom (given the rarity of beards among Javanese) de Graaf regarded as probably being Arab advisors.[5] In 1622, the Dutch emissary Hendrick de Haan reported that Agung attended the mosque on Fridays and obliged his four principal lords to accompany him.[6]

Agung's spiritual life as depicted in Javanese *babads* (chronicles), however, also included prominent features of pre-Islamic origins, notably his mystic marriage to Ratu Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean. According to Javanese legends, this local divinity began as a princess of the pre-Islamic Sundanese (West Javanese) kingdom of Pajajaran, which appears to have fallen to Islamic conquerors in the later sixteenth century.[7] When she refused to marry, her father, the king, cursed her: Until the Day of Judgment she would be queen of the spirits of Java, with her court below the waters of the Southern Ocean (the Indian Ocean). As she made her way across Java in the guise of a hermit, she encountered the ancestor of the Mataram dynasty and promised him that she would be the ally or wife of his descendants. As noted above, she is said to have become the lover of Senapati before his major campaigns.

In the tales of Sultan Agung's life, the Ratu Kidul encounter is both poignant and revealing of the religious life ascribed to this king by Javanese chroniclers. Two years before his death, that is, c. 1644, Agung is said to have two *kratons* (courts), one being his physical court at Karta and the other the *kraton* of Ratu Kidul beneath the Southern Ocean. He goes to visit her, and she tells him that he has only two years to live. She implores him to abandon his earthly kingdom in order to join her. She tearfully begs him to use his powers as an incomparable king to exorcise the curse that made her Goddess of the Southern Ocean, for, she tells him, she is truly of human origin. But Agung refuses to leave Mataram and refuses to intervene in the will of God. "Alas, my love," he tells her, "this cannot be, for it is the wish of God the Creator of the World. If you truly are of human origin, on the Day of Judgement you will come to your end with me."[8]

Thus, Sultan Agung is depicted at the same time as the lover of the distinctly non-Islamic Javanese deity Ratu Kidul, as a monarch with supernatural powers, and as a pious Muslim who would not seek to interfere in the will of God. Just over six years after Agung's death,

the VOC ambassador Rijklof van Goens observed that he had "died as a holy man."[9] It is Agung's status as both the greatest of Mataram's kings—as, indeed, the monarch who set the standard thereafter of what Javanese kings should be—and as a pious follower of Islam that makes him the quintessential reconciler of Javanese and Islamic identities in royal traditions.

The crucial episodes in making Islam central to Agung's vision of kingship evidently occurred in the 1630s. Down to that time, the king's campaigns had often pitted his armies against *pasisir* states linked to leading figures in Java's Islamization, whose graves are located along the coastal region. The line of the *wali* of Giri was a notable opponent to the hegemony of Mataram. The lord of Surabaya, who was finally brought to heel in 1625, claimed descent from another *wali,* Sunan Ngampel-Dĕnta. With the defeat of Surabaya, Agung's Javanese opponents were largely removed from contention. But it was not only Muslim competitors who concerned Agung. Now he turned his attention to the VOC, which had established its headquarters at Batavia in West Java in 1619. In 1628 and again in 1629 Agung sent armies some 500 km from Karta to besiege Batavia, without success. Though on several occasions the first siege posed a serious threat to the VOC fortress, it nonetheless failed. The second siege was an utter debacle, as provisions for the besieging army were discovered by the VOC and destroyed prior to the army's arrival, dooming the campaign to failure before it began.[10]

For a conquering king in a state such as Mataram, defeats such as those suffered before Batavia could shake the very foundations of his rule. Java's mountainous terrain and isolated pockets of population (which at this time must have totaled no more than 4 million rather than the 110 million or so found there at the beginning of the twenty-first century) conspired to limit the administrative capacity of premodern states.[11] Populated areas were separated by wild tracts of jungle full of tigers and other dangerous fauna. Roads with permanent bridges existed but were difficult to maintain, especially in the wet season, and were subject to threats from brigands and local overlords. The two large rivers (the Brantas and Sala) were effective long-distance avenues of communication but were unusable at times when their water levels were too low or they were in full flood. There was no tradition of a centralized professional bureaucracy such as existed in China or Vietnam.

Thus, the institutional capacity of the Mataram state was limited.

This meant that much of the ability of a monarch to impose his will on potentially countervailing forces depended on them accepting his overlordship. That in turn rested on their acceptance of the monarchy as a political, cultural, and religious axiom, on the monarch's willingness to recognize the legitimate interests of local lords, on their recognition of benefits to be had from centralized leadership, and ultimately on their fear of the cost of resistance. Agung's failed sieges of Batavia exposed him as a monarch who was not after all invincible and whose supernatural support was open to serious doubt. Not surprisingly, resistance followed.

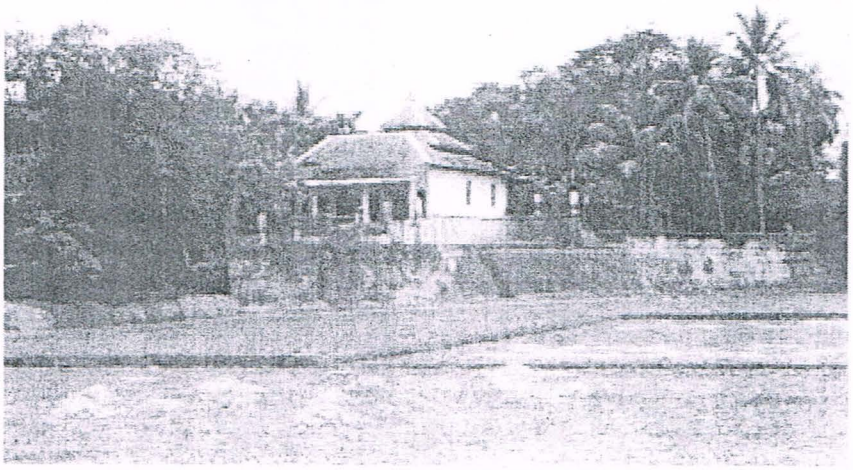
One has the impression that there was much holding of breath to see what would happen in the wake of Agung's failure before Batavia. In 1631 the VOC governor-general reported,

> We learn with certainty that all of Mataram's nobles are afraid of Batavia and have refused the Susunan [Agung's title at this time] to go there again, unless he were to come along in person. . . . It is certain that he could put into the field no more forces than there were before Batavia in 1629, that his people could be got there only with great difficulty and that he will not venture to go to war personally so far outside his own land, out of fear that more people will desert him.[12]

Of these desertions, more will be said below.

There were at first clumsy attempts at rapprochement by the Dutch. In 1630 they sent Pieter Franssen and Jacob Ventura, the former a junior VOC official and the latter otherwise unknown, as emissaries to Agung. They brought no gifts, made a bad impression, and were told that the VOC should send emissaries of higher standing. In 1631 a VOC ship fired fairly ineffectually upon the town of Jĕpara and took four junks lying there. The following year, rather inexplicably, the VOC sent a more senior ambassador with a message for Agung. But the Javanese arrested twenty-four Europeans of this party, whom Agung refused to release for the rest of his life. The VOC then decided to blockade Jĕpara.[13]

Javanese perceptions seem to have connected all these events, depicting them as culminating in the local resistance to Sultan Agung, which in turn led to decisive steps to make Islam a strengthening element behind his rule. *Babad ing Sangkala,* a Javanese chronogram-chronicle that survives in a manuscript of 1738 but which seems to contain recopied passages originally composed before 1670, depicts these events as follows.[14]



Mosque at Wĕdhi

> After the Dutch had landed at Sĕmarang,
> after landing they went to Mataram;
> the Dutch were two in number [Franssen and Ventura]
> with four sailors,
> "forcing their way, evil and defiant" [ś 1552/Mar. 1630–Feb. 1631].
> Not a year later,
> after the destruction,
> many people suffering adversities,
> the people to the south of Wĕdhi all became
> disciples of Shaikh Bungas.[15]

Thus the insult represented by Franssen and Ventura's visit in 1630 was evidently worth noting even in this very succinct chronicle. After this there was destruction and adversity, says the chronicle, perhaps referring to the cannonading of Jĕpara but more likely a reference to crop failure, epidemic diseases, and the like in the interior. Those to the south of Wĕdhi then followed one Shaikh Bungas, who unfortunately is not otherwise known. It is clear from the title *shaikh,* however, that this was a venerated Muslim leader. The road from Klathen still runs south to Wĕdhi, passing the area of Kajoran, where a famous religious leader was to become prominent four decades later, and thence to Tĕmbayat,

where is found the grave of the Central Javanese *wali* Sunan Bayat. This area is one of the axes of Islamic holy sites in Java, all within about 30 km of Agung's court at Karta. The area is in the district of Pajang that, with Mataram proper, constituted the two core districts of the Mataram dynasty.

Pieter Franssen reported in 1630 that rebellion had arisen in twenty-seven villages in the interior. Leaders had gone from village to village, he wrote, disguised as beggars, seeking followers to overthrow Agung. Agung retaliated with force and collected these opponents together at Taji, on the Mataram-Pajang border, roughly midway between Karta and the districts south of Wĕdhi. Franssen saw many of these rebels being brought to Mataram every day for interrogation and, no doubt, brutal forms of execution.[16]

This evidence—fragmentary as it is—points to a rebellion with religious leadership in the heartlands of the Mataram kingdom that Agung crushed by force. But it seems clear that physical defeat of these opponents could not end the challenge posed by religiously identified resistance. Agung had to do more to control, internalize, and personify Islam so that it became a pillar of his reign. In this culture so attuned to ideas of occult powers, Agung almost certainly saw a need to harness to his purpose the supernatural powers of Islam.

In 1633 the central spiritual episode in Agung's reign took place: his royal pilgrimage to the holy grave at Tĕmbayat, in the heart of the districts that had recently rebelled against him. Legendary sources depict Sunan Bayat as having originally been the last king of Majapahit himself, driven from his *kraton* by Muslim conquerors and then converted into a *wali* of Islam through the admonition and supernatural power of another of Java's Islamic saints, Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Bayat, too, is said to have had supernatural powers of the kind befitting a *wali*. He converted heathen hermits to Islam by superior displays of magic.[17]

According to Javanese legends, the spirit of Sunan Bayat met with Sultan Agung at Tĕmbayat. The spirit said to Agung,

> "O Sultan, receive
> the grace of God who created the world.
> Truly have I
> been permitted to teach mystical science
> to Your Majesty."
> Immediately His Highness the Sultan

Holy grave site at Tĕmbayat

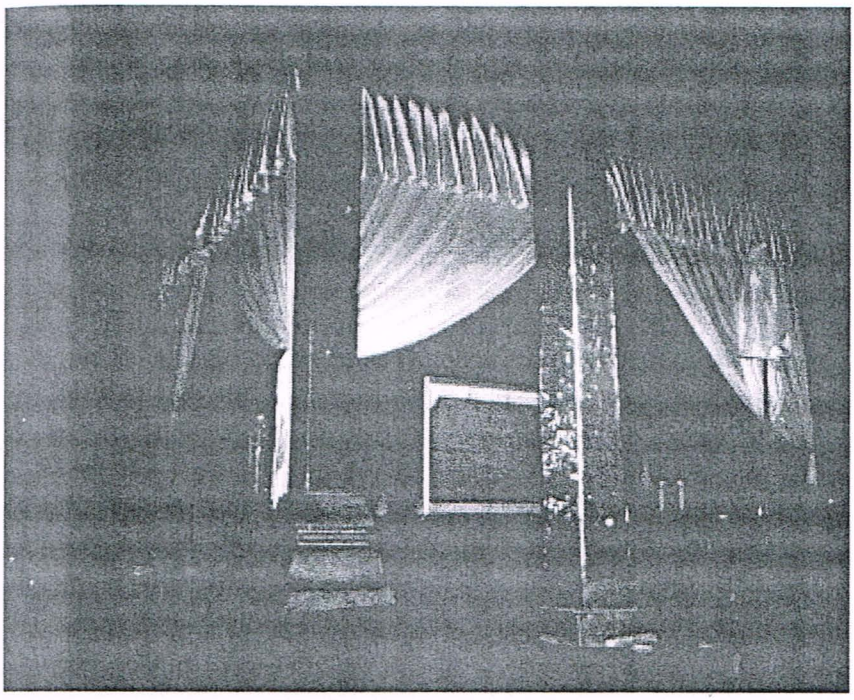
> was taught secret mystical science,
> being a king with a heart of outstanding courage
> and far-reaching in his thought.
> After he had mastered all of this,
> immediately he was able to employ the secret essence
> of the hidden mystical science.[18]

There is clear evidence from VOC sources and archaeological remains that Agung did indeed make a pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat in 1633. In May of that year, the Batavia *Dagregister* noted,

> from Mataram has come a certain fugitive slave, who had been a captive in Mataram for a long time, who reported that the [king of] Mataram has personally marched to a place called Tĕmbayat in order to make sacrifices there.[19]

Another VOC report of June 1633 refers to Agung doing *factijticie* at Tĕmbayat (the word is from Portuguese *feitiçaria,* "witchcraft, magic").[20] So clearly the Dutch were told that Agung had gone to Tĕmbayat with some spiritual purpose in mind.

At Tĕmbayat itself there still stands a gateway constructed during



Grave of Sunan Bayat, Tĕmbayat

this royal visit. On this gateway are carved the chronogram words *wisaa anata wisik ing ratu* ("be able to put in order the secret instruction of the king"), giving the Javanese year 1555 (which began in about March 1633) and apparently alluding to the supernatural significance of the visit.[21] On the opposite side of the gateway is inscribed *1555 masa 4*, confirming both the year 1555 and adding a reference to the fourth *mangsa* (quasi-solar month), equivalent at that time to about October-November in the Western calendar. So it appears that this gateway was constructed to commemorate Agung's visit in October-November 1633. Since the first report of the king's pilgrimage reached the VOC in May, either Agung made several visits to Tĕmbayat that year or he spent much of the year there.

It was also at this time, in the Javanese year 1555, that Agung converted the Javanese calendar to an Islamic form, an act that would undoubtedly have been seen as supernaturally potent. Before this time, Javanese Muslims must have employed the lunar Islamic Anno Hijrae

Sultan Agung's gateway, Tĕmbayat

for religious observations such as the fasting month. But the luni-solar Indian-derived Śaka year had remained in use for court purposes. Now Agung decreed the introduction of the Islamic lunar year. He did not, however, adopt the Anno Hijrae enumeration of years. Rather, he continued the numerical sequence of the Śaka calendar, but now with Islamic lunar years of 354–55 days.[22] Thus Agung created the unique Anno Javanico, a calendrical system that was distinctly Javanese as well as Islamic.

Also in the Javanese year 1555 (AD 1633–34), Agung achieved rapprochement with the family of the defeated lord of Surabaya, which was to play an important role in his reconciliation of Javanese and Islamic identities. This family was evidently related to the line of Sunan Ngampel-Dĕnta, one of the most senior *walis* of Java.[23] The senior

surviving prince of the house was named Pĕkik, and he was heir to the rich cultural traditions of the *pasisir* states. As will be seen below, he seems to have brought to the court of Sultan Agung—perhaps still a rough parvenu *kraton* compared to older coastal centers—important works of Javanese Islamic literature. According to the most reliably dated chronicle for this period, Pĕkik was brought from Surabaya to Mataram in AJ 1555 (AD 1633–34).[24] He was given a sister of Sultan Agung for his bride, and his daughter was married to the crown prince, later king Amangkurat I (r. 1646–77). The child of this union would later reign as Amangkurat II (r. 1677–1703).

Literary sources indicate that further important acts took place in connection with Agung's pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat in 1633 and his associated reconciliation with Png. Pĕkik. This evidence is somewhat problematic, for it consists of manuscripts from the eighteenth century that reveal literary ancestry from the time of Sultan Agung or, in one case, a manuscript represented only by a modern published transcription. The putative seventeenth-century originals themselves are no longer known to exist. So one must place some faith in the veracity of these witnesses to approach the seventeenth-century events.

In September 1729 (in the Javanese year AJ 1654, as the centennial year of Agung's pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat approached), scribes in the employ of the then-king's grandmother, Ratu Pakubuwana, began to write out a text entitled *Carita Sultan Iskandar* (The tale of Sultan Iskandar). This was presented as a supernaturally potent work.[25] The tale itself is a highly elaborated Javanese version of the story of Alexander the Great, based upon the traditions concerning Dhu'l-Qarnayn in the *Qur'ān* (18: 82–98). For the purposes of the present analysis, the most immediately important passage of the manuscript is its account of how, a century before, the text had originally come into being:

> [This story] originated in the Malay language
> but it has been translated into Javanese.
>
> Indeed, the one who first composed it
> was a student of religion [*santri*] beloved of a learned master.
> Indeed it was the Pangeran [Pĕkik] who ordered it
> in Surabaya then.
> In the time of Sultan [Agung]
> of Mataram was when began to be handed down
> this story from Cĕmpa.[26]

Then the one who was writing it died.
A draft was prepared on palm-leaves,
one-half was already drafted.
Then it was ordered that this should be passed down
in Javanese writing.
The one who was ordered to hand it down
by the Pangeran of Surabaya

indeed was a preacher from Giri
who refrained from sleeping and eating
while the writing lasted
for three months and twelve days.
After it was written,
about ten nights later,
it was taken to Mataram.

Furthermore, this beauteous tale
will bless if it is read;
it is different from other tales.
There is no equal
to the *Carita Iskandar*.
It was fitting for it to be a possession of the king
because it was new [for there to be a version] from Java.[27]

It is reasonable to suppose from this account that the newly minted Javanese version was taken to Mataram by Pěkik in 1633. As will be seen in chapter 5, a century later this work was rewritten as part of an Islamizing campaign within the *kraton;* one may think that the 1633 version, too, fitted within an Islamizing context. It symbolized both reconciliation with the leading *pasisir* political and cultural center, with its *wali* ancestry, and domestication of a major Islamic legend within Javanese courtly culture.

A second work of Islamic inspiration, one of the most popular of all in Java, was also apparently done while Agung was at Těmbayat, at least in its longer courtly version. This is *Sěrat Yusuf* (The book of Yusuf), based on the Quranic story of Joseph in Egypt (*Qur'ān* 12), which in the Javanese version becomes a lengthy tale of beauty and piety. At least in more recent times, ritual recitations of *Yusuf* (which is represented in a very large number of MSS from Java) have been used in villages upon rites of passage, in fulfillment of vows, or in the annual village cleansing ceremonies. In his study of this work, Arps comments that

the figure of Yusuf "causes rapture because of his physical beauty, arouses longing to be united with him, and explicitly and implicitly incites man to be devoted to God."[28]

In 1981 the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture published a transcription of a *Yusuf* text that is said to derive from the time and place of Agung's pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat.[29] Unfortunately, more recent efforts to locate the original MS from which the transcription was made have failed, and the published transcription is marred by errors. But its closing stanzas are clear enough in meaning:

> When this work was written
> it was [in the month] Jumadilawal,
> upon a Saturday.
> In Karang town was it completed,
> when the units [of the year-numeral] were five,
> and the tens were five then.
> Regard the chronogram:
> "The weapon of evil rolled over
> the earth" [1555] then.[30]

This date fell within the month of November 1633, corresponding to the period commemorated in the inscription on Agung's gateway at Tĕmbayat. And Karang is the name of a village adjacent to Tĕmbayat.[31] Thus *Yusuf,* too, appears to have been produced in a courtly version at the time and place of Agung's pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat.

The same is true of a third work, *Kitab Usulbiyah* (The book Usulbiyah). At the end of the published transcription of the *Yusuf* of 1633, discussed immediately above, one finds a canto that is not the final part of *Yusuf* at all but rather the opening of *Usulbiyah*. The original (no longer traceable) manuscript of 1633 upon which the transcription rests must therefore have included *Usulbiyah* as well, although what survived in that manuscript was only a fragment that breaks off after twenty-three stanzas.

The *Usulbiyah* fragment found at the end of the 1633 text makes clear that this is a work of great piety, merit, and power:

> Be it known by all, indeed,
> who read or who write [this book],
> may they be far removed from evil doings.
> And moreover its blessing power

is as if one were to go on the *ḥajj* [pilgrimage to Mecca],
the same as giving food
to a wretched person,
the same as a person reciting the *Qur'ān*.
Its blessing power is the same as a person fighting Holy War:
his body will not be destroyed

and he will be admitted to Heaven exalted,
all of his sins forgiven
and his body made exalted.
To all who read this,
with the ritual ablution water
will be disclosed
the secret mystical science,
all of their sins abolished
and by the Immaterial [God] given great blessedness,
forgiven by the Immaterial.[32]

Thus this work claimed that reading or writing it would fulfill two of Islam's five pillars, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the giving of alms, and was equivalent to fighting holy war, with its attendant admission to paradise for fallen warriors.

The story of *Usulbiyah* is known only from two eighteenth-century versions, which suggests that this work was less directly descended from Quranic stories than either *Yusuf* or *Iskandar*.[33] Although all three works are thoroughly Javanese in the sense that their language, verse, characterizations, development of plot, and general style are consistent with other Javanese works of literature of the Islamic period, *Usulbiyah*'s more original reimagining of the past may provide a particularly valuable window on the thought of Sultan Agung's time. The work tells of many figures of Islamic history, placed in indubitably Javanese settings.[34] The central episode is an encounter between Jesus and Muḥammad upon this earth that is (so far as I am aware) unprecedented in Islamic traditions elsewhere. The text is also the vehicle for conveying mystical doctrines.

The cultural synthesis conveyed in this text is suggested particularly by three passages found in the surviving manuscript of 1729. Readers must decide for themselves whether it is reasonable to think that the same or similar passages were in the lost version of 1633. One concerns the crown worn by Muḥammad when, after argument, Jesus acknowledges him as his superior. It is described as having "Garudhas

facing forward and backward, with teeth of precious rubies, gems for eyes and tongues of water jewels."[35] This is consistent with descriptions of the golden crown of Majapahit, described by Valentyn (who saw it in 1678) as having "the shape of two intertwined dragons . . . with the heads facing forward, of pure worked gold, very elegantly made Manila-fashion from thick filigree and set with splendid pearls and diamonds."[36] The early-nineteenth-century Surakarta Major *Babad* provides a similar description: "a crown of gold, Garudhas facing front and back, striking their breasts, with ear ornaments."[37] The crown was last seen in 1739 and was presumably lost in the wars that commenced soon thereafter. For Muḥammad—the ultimate in human perfection—to be depicted in *Usulbiyah* wearing the crown of Majapahit implies an accommodation of Javanese signs of kingship with Islamic conceptions of human perfection. Jesus, too, is depicted as conveying this vital cultural accommodation. Muḥammad says of him, "He who forms the centre [of the realm] is the Prophet Jesus, who has received the status of king. His languages are two, indeed, for he is able to speak Javanese and also the Arabic language."[38] An atmosphere in which the Arabic and Javanese languages, the golden crown of Majapahit, and the perfect man of Islamic thought could be associated is conveyed also by words that *Usulbiyah* ascribes to God. He tells Muḥammad, "The being of a king is the being of the All-Disposing [God], his attributes are the attributes of God, his works are the works of God; a king, Muḥammad, is king of God's mystical knowledge."[39]

Yet more intriguing is a text that seems to represent Sultan Agung's own political philosophy, in which a Javanese monarch is seen as a pious Ṣūfī warrior. The text is a poem of nineteen stanzas entitled *Suluk Garwa Kancana* (The song of the house of gold).[40] Before the verse text begins, a prose sentence announces, "This is *Suluk Garwa Kancana*, which is from Susunan Ratu." Since this work is part of the collection of 1729–30 texts purportedly deriving from Sultan Agung's time, one is inclined to turn to that period to identify this Susunan Ratu. And, indeed, in the years 1636–37 this was evidently a title used by Sultan Agung himself in the wake of a victory over the lord of Giri. Agung's victorious army having been led by Prince Pĕkik of Surabaya, whose role in transporting the other works of literature to Mataram in 1633 seems to have been crucial.[41]

Suluk Garwa Kancana opens with a metaphor of the spirit as monarch and the five senses as royal officials who urge the king to be

involved in this world. But the king must reject this advice. He must rely upon "a fortress of clear vision," "destroy the (enemy) citadel and let the five senses be swept away." He should "destroy the passion of sexual love, and let pleasures be destroyed." This pious, ascetic king is admonished thus:

> Let that which serves as your citadel be
> constant struggle;
> that which serves as your weapon [arrow]
> the exalted contemplation [of God];
> as your vehicle: steadfast trust in God.
>
> Take care and battle firmly.
> Let the scriptures [*sastra*] serve as your subjects.
> Let piety serve as your bow;
> let *dhikr* [the repetition of divine formulae][42] serve as your quiver,
> and the *Qur'ān* as your arrows.
> Draw your bow on the field of battle.
> Truly heroic are you, Your Highness,
>
> surrounded by virtue and firmness,
> truly, if you take care,
> [surrounded by] homage, supernatural strength and dread.
> You will know the temptations of words
> and will be incapable of being misled.
> . . .
>
> Let your heart not be uncertain,
> accompanied by a fortress of clear vision,
> penetrated by faith.
> Let the firm fortress be exorcised,
> untouched by the five senses
>
> which are destroyed by faith exalted,
> deflected from attachment to this world.
> Let there be destroyed
> desire and sensual pleasures,
> may comforts be defeated.
> . . .
>
> For [you are] unable to be injured,
> unable to be tested by fire [?].

[The enemy's] weapons will be overwhelmed
by the heroism of Your Highness,
those arrows of all sensual pleasures.

Then the enemy will disappear entirely.
All the heroes of battle:
all their magical powers will be blunted
and unable to be put into effect.
Uncertain will be the hearts of villains
because [you] take care in troubles.
None can imagine your proficiency.

Therefore you are given a position
by the Most Holy God,
because of your outstanding heroism on the field of battle.
Yea, you are shown [divine] grace,
are given the ultimate position
and are installed as king,
given new raiment.

When you are consecrated as king,
don your royal garb:
let *khak* [reality] serve as your crown,
with *tarekat* [the mystical way] as its crest.
Struggle constantly,
sarengat [the law] serving as your lower garment.
This is the end of *Garwa Kancana*.

If it is correct to accept this as a statement of Sultan Agung's political philosophy—possibly even representing the instruction he is said to have received from the spirit of Sunan Bayat in 1633—then it is a uniquely valuable demonstration of the reconciliation of Javanese martial traditions of kingship with Islamic traditions of mystic piety. Here is established an equation between the warrior king and the Ṣūfī mystic engaged in *al-jihād al-akbar*, the "greater holy war" against one's own carnal appetites. This model of an ascetic warrior monarch, with weapons of faith deriving entirely from Islamic traditions and with holy law as his nether garment, captures eloquently the role Agung evidently sought to play in reconciling Javanese and Islamic identities. It is consistent with the domestication within Javanese court culture of the other works of literature described in this chapter. These were works inspired by

Islamic sources and, at least in the case of *Iskandar*, apparently developed from a Malay story and brought to Mataram in 1633. That year seems to have played a crucial role: it was also the year of the pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat and the changing of the Javanese court calendar to Islamic lunar years.

Agung's Islamizing of Javanese court culture and identity did not take place in a vacuum, for elsewhere in Java and more widely in the Indonesian archipelago, Islam was making forward strides at court level. In Bantĕn in the west of Java, the long-ruling king Pangeran Ratu or Abdul Kadir (r. 1596–1651) read difficult Ṣūfī works and corresponded with Islamic thinkers as far away as Arabia, including Nuruddin ar-Raniri (discussed below) after he had left Aceh and returned to his homeland in Gujarat. In 1638 the Bantĕn ruler became the first king in Java known definitely to have adopted the title Sultan, becoming Sultan Abulmafakhir Mahmud Abdulkadir after receiving some form of authorization from the grand *sharīf* of Mecca.[43]

In this same period, the court of Aceh at the northern tip of Sumatra witnessed an efflorescence of Islamic mystic literature. Four writers were particularly prominent in this, the sixteenth-century Sumatran Hamzah Pansuri (d.1527), his seventeenth-century successors Syamsuddin of Pasai (d. 1630) and Abdurrauf of Singkil (c. 1615–93), and the most prolific of the four, the Gujarati Nuruddin ar-Raniri, who lived in Aceh from 1637 to 1644. The works of all these authors were inspired by Sufism, but in the view of ar-Raniri, Hamzah's and Syamsuddin's works were heretical. The most powerful of Aceh's kings, Sultan Iskandar Muda (r. 1607–36), was much influenced by Syamsuddin, who wielded considerable political power. But during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani (r. 1636–41), ar-Raniri ordered the works of Hamzah and Syamsuddin to be burned.[44] This could not, however, prevent the works that survived becoming widely known across the Indonesian archipelago.

The creations of these Malay authors were, in several cases, translated into Javanese. It is not clear how quickly this was done, so one cannot assert that they exercised a direct influence on the court of Sultan Agung.[45] But one can confidently say that Agung and his religious advisors would have been aware to at least some extent of developments elsewhere in the Indonesian and wider Islamic world.

Azyumardi Azra writes of the networks that connected Malay-Indonesian scholars of Islam (*'ulamā'*) to international Islamic networks.

He describes the period from the sixteenth to the later seventeenth century as a stage "during which relations [between the Malay-Indonesian archipelago and the Middle East] became increasingly more political as well as religious. . . . In this period the Malay-Indonesians took the initiative to establish politico-diplomatic relations with the Ottoman empire as well as to play a more active role in the trade of the region."[46] Azra sees the doctrinal mainstream of this period as being characterized by "rapprochement between the *shariah*-oriented '*ulamā*' ... and the Ṣūfīs." This produced a Sufism that was both puritanical and activist, with its metaphysical features attenuated and greater emphasis on "the original moral factor and puritanical self-control in Sufism" and "the socio-moral reconstruction of Muslim society."[47]

The surviving evidence from Sultan Agung's time does not demonstrate direct links with Aceh or with wider trends in the Islamic world. But the evidence discussed in this chapter strongly suggests that in reconciling Islam within Javanese court culture, Agung was acting at least consistently with, and perhaps in response to, broader trends within the world of Islam. He was a Ṣūfī and a Javanese monarch, a synthesizer of identities.

Agung's synthesis was symbolized by his finally taking the title of sultan in 1641. As was noted above, his compatriot in Bantĕn assumed this title on the authority of the *sharīf* of Mecca in 1638. Shortly thereafter, Agung sent an emissary to Mecca who returned in 1641 with authorization for him, too, to assume the title of sultan. He thus became Sultan Abdul Muhammad Maulana Matarani, the first monarch of his line to use such a title, and the last to do so for over a century.[48] *Babad ing Sangkala* records this event and also notes that in the same year Agung made a second visit to Tĕmbayat, suggesting again the centrality of that place in the Islamization of Agung's court and realm.[49]

Before Sultan Agung's time, it seems that some Javanese could conceive of a synthesis of Javanese and Islamic identities, but others rejected this. The patronage, piety, and supernatural authority of Sultan Agung must have moved the center of cultural gravity mightily in the direction of synthesis. But a hierarchical society in which a king could have great influence was also one in which the departure of such a king could mean an alteration in the cultural dynamics. It will become clear in following chapters that there were cultural and political forces in Java that could still frustrate the synthesis promoted by Sultan Agung. There is symbolic significance in this respect that when Agung died in the first

months of 1646, he did so at a time that the chronicles say had been prophesied to him his supernatural and definitely indigenous Javanese lover, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean.[50]

Notes

[1] See D. A. Rinkes, "De heiligen van Java, IV: Ki Pandan Arang te Tembajat," *TBG* vol. 53 (1911), pp. 435–581; D. A. Rinkes, *Nine Saints of Java*, transl. H. M. Froger, ed. Alijah Gordon, intro. G. W. J. Drewes (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1996), pp. 69–122.

[2] De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 186. Note that there is confusion in Van Goens' account between Senapati Ingalaga and his son Seda ing Krapyak (r. c. 1601–13), but Senapati seems to be meant in this passage. The old court referred to is Kutha Gĕdhe, near present-day Yogyakarta.

[3] H. J. de Graaf, *De regering van Panembahan Sénapati Ingalaga*, *VKI* vol. 13 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), pp. 76--77; M. C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II* (St. Leonards NSW and Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen and Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p. 11.

[4] H. J. de Graaf, *De regering van Sultan Agung, vorst van Mataram, 1613–1645* [sic], *en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak, 1601–1613*, *VKI* vol. 23 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), pp. 26–98; or, more briefly, Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, pp. 43–44.

[5] De Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, pp. 100, 103. The original report is in J. K. J. de Jonge and M. L. van Deventer (eds.), *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië; Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud-koloniaal archief* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1862–1909), vol. V, pp. 49–50. The suggestion that these figures were "Arabic *imams* or chief-*pangulus* [religious officers]" was made by the editor, J. K. J. de Jonge.

[6] H. de Haan, journal 24 June–Sept. 1622, in dJ IV, pp. 303, 312.

[7] For a more detailed discussion, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 8–11. The relevant sources are three: *Babad Kraton* (BL Add. MS 12320), ff. 44r.–48r.; this is available in a romanized published version in I. W. Pantja Sunjata, Ignatius Supriyanto, and J. J. Ras (eds.), *Babad Kraton* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1992), vol. I, pp. 51–55. Also *BTJ(BP)* vol. I, pp. 57–66; and Josua van Iperen, "Begin van eene Javansche historie, genaamd Sadjara Radja Djawa," *VBG* vol. 3, pp. 125–30.

[8] This is based on the oldest available MS version, that in IOL Jav. 36(A), ff. 290r.–293v. This MS is undated but is evidently from the same hand and contemporaneous with IOL Jav. 36(B), which is dated Nov. 1738 and is published in M. C. Ricklefs (ed. and transl.), *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition: A Study of an Original Kartasura Chronicle and Related Materials* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978). Similar accounts are in *BK* ff. 278r.–283v. (published ed. vol. I, pp. 311–18); *BTJ(BP)* vol. X, pp. 26–36.

[9] De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 123.

[10] De Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, pp. 144–63.

[11] The estimate of 4 million is found in Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Com-*

merce, vol. I, p. 14. I am not convinced that the population was even this high in the seventeenth century.

[12] Van Diemen to H.XVII, 5 June 1631, in dJ V, pp. 165–66.

[13] De Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, pp. 174–85.

[14] Ricklefs, *Tradition*, pp. 183, 187.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–7. Note that the words used for the chronogram are translated in quotation marks, followed by the date conversion in square brackets.

[16] Franssen's original report is in W. Fruin-Mees, "Pieter Franssen's journaal van zijn reis naar Mataram in 1630 en enige wegen naar de hofplaats," *TBG* vol. 66 (1926), p. 414. See also de Graaf, *Sultan Agung,* p. 198. There was also rebellion in West Java that was crushed militarily in 1630–35; see ibid., pp. 193–97.

[17] Rinkes, "Heiligen IV," pp. 439–77; English ed., pp. 72–98. See also Martin van Bruinessen, 'Sūfīs and Sultans in Southeast Asia and Kurdistan: A Comparative Survey," *Studia Islamika* vol. 3, no. 3 (1996), pp. 6–7.

[18] Rinkes, "Heiligen IV," pp. 492–93, 541; English ed., p. 109.

[19] Quoted in de Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, p. 201.

[20] Ibid.

[21] This reading of the chronogram is discussed in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 37, n. 30.

[22] Ibid.

[23] De Graaf and Pigeaud, *Vorstendommen,* p. 160.

[24] Ricklefs, *Tradition,* pp. 38–39. On the accuracy of this part of the text, see ibid., pp. 169–73.

[25] See this volume, pp. 104–8; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 40–53. The MS is RP MS no. 262 carikan.

[26] Cĕmpa plays a role as one of the points of origin of Islam in Java in a number of Javanese legendary sources. See de Graaf and Pigeaud, *Vorstendommen,* pp. 19–21.

[27] Javanese text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 46–47.

[28] Bernard Arps, *Tembang in Two Traditions: Performance and Interpretation of Javanese Literature* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992), p. 54.

[29] Titiek Pudjiastuti (transcr.) and Hardjana H. P. (transl.), *Kitab Yusuf* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1981).

[30] Ibid., p. 534. Javanese text (as corrected by me) in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, p. 57.

[31] It should be noted that *Karang* (coral, rock; yard, compound) is a common element in Javanese place names. W. F. Schoel (ed.), *Alphabetisch register van de administratieve- (bestuurs-) en adatrechtelijke indeeling van Nederlandsch-Indie,* vol. I: *Java en Madoera* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1931), pp. 153–67, lists approximately 680 such toponyms. In this case, however, it must surely be the Karang near Tĕmbayat that is meant. See the map facing p. 510 in Rinkes, "Ki Pandan Arang" (English ed. facing p. 123).

[32] Text in Pudjiastuti and Hardjana, *Kitab Yusuf*, p. 535. It has been necessary to make some corrections to the manifestly faulty transcription in this edition. In particular, here I translate *sirep* in line 5 of the first stanza as *sĕrĕp*. The final line remains problematic.

[33] RP MS no. 263 carikan, dated AJ 1654 [AD 1729]; and SB MS PB A.109, dated AJ 1668 [AD 1743].

[34] The story is summarized on the basis of RP MS no. 263 carikan in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 62–91.

[35] RP MS no. 263 carikan, p. 34. Text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, p. 75 n. 155.

[36] Fr. Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën: Vervattende een naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten* (8 vols.; Dordrecht and Amsterdam: J. van Braam and G. Onder de Linden, 1724–26), vol. IV [pt. 1], p. 111.

[37] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XIV, p. 70.

[38] RP MS no. 263 carikan, pp. 34–35; text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, p. 77.

[39] RP MS no. 263 carikan, p. 3; text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, p. 67 n. 124.

[40] RP MS no. 263 carikan, pp. 60–61.

[41] A fuller discussion of the text, including the meaning of the title and the ascription to Sultan Agung, and a full Javanese text and English translation, are found in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 112–25. The title Susunan Ratu was also used, at least on some occasions, by Amangkurat I, II, and III (r. 1646–77, 1677–1703, 1703–8), but (as will be seen in the account of their times below) none of these can be thought of as likely authors or patrons of a pious Islamic doctrine of kingship such as that found here.

[42] For an account of this central Ṣūfī practice, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 167–78.

[43] Martin van Bruinessen, "*Shari'a* Court, *Tarekat* and *Pesantren*: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* no. 50 (1995), p. 167; Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian *'Ulamā'* in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries," Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1992, pp. 365, 463 n. 39; Batavia to H.XVII, 22 Dec. 1638, in dJ V, p. 236.

[44] There are many major works of scholarship on these authors and their works. For some basic references, see Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 313. For a valuable brief discussion, see A. H. Johns' entry on Syamsuddin in Gibb, *Encyc. Islam*, vol. IX, p. 296.

[45] While it was once commonly thought that Hamzah had traveled to Java, this has been shown to rest upon a misunderstanding of one of Hamzah's verses. See G. W. J. Drewes and L. F. Brakel (eds. and transls.), *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, Bibliotheca Indonesica 26 (Dordrecht and Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1986), pp. 8–11.

[46] Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," p. 119.

[47] Ibid., pp. 242–43. Azra uses the term "neo-Sufism." On this, see the editors' introduction in Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 6–13. For a critical consideration of the term "neo-Sufism," which argues that it "should either be discarded or, at best, used with great caution," see R. S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, "Neo-Sufism Reconsidered," *Der Islam* vol. 70 (1993), pp. 52–87.

[48] De Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, pp. 264–68.

[49] Ricklefs, *Tradition*, pp. 40–43 (I:41–42). Some problems surround the dating of Agung's investiture as sultan; see ibid., p. 172.

[50] *BK* ff. 284r.–v. (published ed. vol. I, pp. 318–19); *BTJ(BP)* vol. X, pp. 37–38. On the date of Agung's death, see Ricklefs, *Tradition*, p. 172.

CHAPTER 3

CREATING A NEW PATTERN IN THE LATER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Islam as Opposition

Sultan Agung's son and successor Amangkurat I (r. 1646–77) is represented in Javanese historical traditions as the very embodiment of tyranny. VOC sources support this depiction. Among the objects of his tyranny were many of the advisors who had been close to Agung in his lifetime. In 1648, the Dutch ambassador Rijklof van Goens remarked upon Amangkurat I's "strange manner of government . . . , which is inconceivable to us, whereby the old are murdered in order to make place for the young."[1]

The king's own father-in-law, Pangeran Pĕkik of Surabaya, who was seen in the previous chapter to have played an important role in the Islamizing thrust of Sultan Agung's time, was murdered on royal orders in 1659.[2] *Babad ing Sangkala* recorded his death thus:

> Pangeran Surabaya
> died and thereafter
> "disappeared his body, arranged by
> the king" [AJ 1580], magically powerful,
> without using any apparatus
> against all the dangers.[3]

Two aspects in particular suggest that, from the beginning of his reign, Amangkurat I was prepared (and perhaps determined) to undo the cultural synthesis achieved in his father's *kraton*. First, he did not assume the title of sultan. The Bantĕn and Mataram evidence discussed in the previous chapter suggests that Javanese rulers felt they needed authority directly from Mecca to use this title. This might explain why Amangkurat

I called himself *susunan* or *susuhunan* rather than "sultan" at the start of his reign, but he seems never to have attempted to solicit the title of sultan from Mecca at any time. Second, he presided over the largest mass slaughter of religious divines in Javanese history early in his reign.

Most Javanese chronicles expunge the royal slaughter of religious teachers. *Babad ing Sangkala,* evidently preserving passages written in the time of Amangkurat I itself, briefly and chillingly describes the episode:

> When "disappeared the teachers upon the road,
> men" [AJ 1570/26 Jan. 1648–14 Jan. 1649] departed
> from the [rightful] path.
> As if dimmed was the lustre of the kingdom;
> rain fell heavily; the king constantly cherished a grim
> hatred and ordered the troops.[4]

Rijklof van Goens was at the court in 1649 after this slaughter, when unburied bodies were still to be seen. It may be noted in passing that failing to bury a body is a heinous act in Islam.[5] According to van Goens, the king's brother Pangeran Alit had attempted a coup in 1647 that had the support of the Islamic teachers of the realm. After the failure of this coup, the monarch ordered the leading Islamic teachers and their families to assemble on the great square before the court on the pretext that he wished to know their names and where they lived. Then at a signal from the king, thousands of men, women, and children were slaughtered there. Van Goens reported that within half an hour two thousand "priests" were killed and, in all, five thousand to six thousand men, women, and children.[6]

If Sultan Agung's accommodation of pious Islam within Javanese court culture necessarily meant some acceptance also of Islamic influences over affairs of state, including influence wielded by Muslim clerics, then Amangkurat I's slaughter of religious figures seems to betoken a turning away from such an accommodation. There is, however, contradictory evidence on this matter, or at least evidence that suggests that Amangkurat I's position may have changed after the slaughter. In van Goens' report of his 1652 embassy is found a tale of Amangkurat I's planning to attack Bantĕn.[7] It is said that religious advisors ("priests and other rabble") told the king that his father, Sultan Agung, having died as a holy man, had ordered that Mataram should turn its forces

first to the east (where Java's Eastern Salient remained pre-Islamic) and only then to the west, otherwise Mataram's arms would not be blessed. But the king pressed on and had his gun foundry make large quantities of muskets and cannon for the Bantĕn campaign. When one of those cannons was tested on the square before the court, it exploded, one piece falling not far from the king. Amangkurat I left, cursed the square, and had it sealed up. This part of the story is corroborated in *Babad ing Sangkala*.[8] The king then fell ill and was declared incurable. "This made him become religious," wrote van Goens, "and he ordered the priests to pray for him, abandoned his obstinate intention, swore to campaign to the east and promised to reconcile himself with the Bantĕn ruler." The "priests" agreed to this and cured him within ten days.

Other evidence supports the impression that Islam continued to play a role in *kraton* life, although the Islamizing thrust of Agung's time was much attenuated. There was still a mosque at the court, so there is no reason to think that there was any formal royal apostasy from Islam. *Babad ing Sangkala* recorded the building of a mosque at the new court of Plered[9] in 1649 and of a "Great Mosque" in 1651–52.[10] Van Goens noted, however, that the king did not attend the public mosque service on Fridays.[11] When he appeared in public, courtiers anxiously waited to see whether he—and consequently they—would wear an ordinary Javanese headdress or a Turkish-style *kuluk*, but one may wonder whether the *kuluk* was necessarily meant as a mark of piety in the case of this king.[12] Islamic prohibitions seemed to matter little at court. Van Goens noted consumption of alcoholic drinks by both the king and his courtiers. If on some occasion the king did not drink alcohol, take tobacco, or use opium, then no one else could do so either, clearly indicating that there were times when all these substances were used.[13]

Yet, van Goens reported, the Javanese people (by whom he presumably meant mainly the courtiers with whom he had most contact) had a strong sense of Islamic identity:

> They place such firm reliance on their Islamic religion that they believe their blessedness to be infallible and they anathematise all others, indeed deride them as wretched people.[14]

One must of course ask whether a foreign ambassador such as Rijklof van Goens, who did not command the Javanese language, was competent to make such judgments. Javanese sources that might corroborate this

view would be welcome, but nothing of sufficient reliability in this respect has come to light. When the king wrote to the VOC governor-general c. 1652, his salutation contained nothing more than a pro forma expression of his Muslim identity:

> This is the letter of the Ratu of Mataram who rules with the grace and support of Allah, who is called Susuhunan Ingalaga, who possesses the Great Court in the land of Mataram, who rules all that belongs to the island of Java and to whom obeisance is paid by all the Bupatis from overseas.[15]

It may be futile to search for a coherent royal approach to religious culture and identity in the reign of Amangkurat I, for the king may simply have been going mad. The murders of his reign were perhaps a somewhat idiosyncratic version of realpolitik rather than a sign of lunacy, but by the 1660s more persuasive evidence of madness was appearing. Then his favorite wife, Ratu Malang, died. He was so distressed by her loss that he refused to have the body buried (a serious offense against Islamic practice) and instead sat at the graveside with the decaying corpse for some time. This greatly distressed his court. Eventually he returned to the *kraton,* where he ordered his dead wife's serving woman to be starved to death.[16]

However mad the king may have been, it is nevertheless clear that in Amangkurat I's reign there was neither evidence of royal initiative in support of further Islamization of Javanese culture nor any conspicuous royal piety. In the slaughter of religious leaders, there was at least one major episode of violent royal opposition to Islamic influences. In the manifold murders and madnesses there can have been little to encourage the aspirations of pious Javanese Muslims. That religious identity was indeed one of the issues in this king's reign was implied when resistance to Amangkurat I coalesced, for it tended to identify itself in Islamic terms.

The leading figure in the resistance to Amangkurat I was Raden Trunajaya. He was a scion of the Javanese ruling house of West Madura, who was born c. 1649 and raised at Amangkurat I's *kraton,* where his father and others of the Madura family were murdered in 1656. Sometime thereafter, Trunajaya fled the court and took refuge with one of the kingdom's leading religious leaders, known as Raden Kajoran or Panĕmbahan Rama.[17] His center at Kajoran was in the region of Javanese holy sites where were found the grave of Sunan Bayat and the focus of

resistance to Sultan Agung forty years before. Raden Kajoran was indeed related to the line of Bayat and also had extensive connections through marriage to the House of Mataram and other distinguished families of the realm. Kajoran gave one of his daughters to Trunajaya as a wife.[18] The Trunajaya-Kajoran alliance brought together a dynamic young prince and a leading Islamic religious figure, a potent combination that would shortly bring Amangkurat I's reign to an end.

Marauding Makasarese warriors joined in opposing the Mataram king, thus making a rebellion in which Madurese and Makasarese initially formed the vanguard.[19] By 1671, Trunajaya had gained control of Madura. By 1675, he and his allies had begun to take East Java port towns. Full-scale warfare followed. In October 1676 the king's forces suffered a massive defeat at Gogodog in northeast Java. Thereafter Mataram authority splintered throughout much of the eastern part of the kingdom.

Now Europeans entered the scene, a new element that would directly influence Javanese affairs for nearly three centuries. The first European intervention into the Javanese heartland was launched, hesitantly and without clear objectives, by the Dutch East India Company when Admiral Cornelius Speelman landed at Jĕpara in early 1677. In May he commenced a campaign against Trunajaya's headquarters in Surabaya that ended in the rebel forces being driven from the town.

The rebel's opposition to Amangkurat I was couched in Islamic terms from the beginning. Trunajaya told the VOC emissary Jacob Couper early in May 1677 that Amangkurat I was not his lawful sovereign because he was not a sultan. Couper replied that the king could call himself sultan if he liked, but Trunajaya denied this, saying that the title must be granted by Mecca, thereby drawing a contrast between Amangkurat I and Sultan Agung.[20]

European intervention was of no immediate assistance to the beleaguered monarch, however, and may indeed have hastened his demise. The later historian J. K. J. de Jonge was of the view that the intervention of *kāfirs* on the king's side only inspired more Javanese defections from his cause.[21] In late June 1677 the court of Plered fell to Trunajaya's forces. Amangkurat I fled northwest toward the *pasisir*, where the VOC and his last loyal Javanese followers were to be found. He died before reaching the coast and was buried south of Tĕgal. Before his death, he admonished his son the crown prince (soon to be Amangkurat II, r. 1677–1703) to maintain the alliance with the VOC,

Grave of Amangkurat I, Tĕgalwangi

thereby entrenching a relationship that would problematize the dynasty's Islamic identity for some considerable time. The chronicles depict this as a dramatic deathbed instruction, in which the dying monarch tells his son, "In the future the *kāfirs* will be victorious in war, they who are called Dutchmen; remain their comrade, my son."[22] Letters sent by Amangkurat II to the VOC confirm the essence of the tale. His late father, he said, had advised him to rely upon his "uncle" the admiral (Speelman) and the governor-general, whom he called variously "father" or "great-uncle." The new king also observed that one of the reasons for the fall of the court was that it was seen in Mataram that the dynasty and the VOC were allies.[23]

In the cataclysmic fall and plundering of the court, Javanese chronicles naturally saw the hand of God. According to the chronicles, the Mataram princes lost their supernatural power; it was the will of God that the court should fall, and as the court burned it was like the Day of Judgment.[24] These chronicles, written from within the traditions of the *kraton* itself, do not identify the infidel European presence as a cause of this calamity. But Amangkurat II's statements continued to suggest that this was so. He and his supporting dignitaries insisted that his future depended on the VOC alone. The other surviving princes were not to be

relied upon, for they were "absolutely ill-inclined towards the Company and averse to the Netherlands people."[25]

There were attempts to attract Amangkurat II away from his reliance upon the infidel VOC. In particular, the governor of Tĕgal, Mĕrtalaya, appears in both Javanese and Dutch records as one who urged Amangkurat II to abandon the Europeans. The later-eighteenth-century chronicle *Babad Kraton* says that Mĕrtalaya responded to a royal summons and found the despondent king meditating in a mosque in Banyumas. Amangkurat II asked Mĕrtalaya to prepare a boat to take him on the pilgrimage to Mecca, but Mĕrtalaya urged him to remain in Java as king. Eventually the king had a dream while sleeping in the mosque that he took to be a sign from God (Allah) that he was to become king. He told Mĕrtalaya this and ordered him to prepare a ship to take ambassadors to Batavia to ask the aid of the VOC. Mĕrtalaya objected: Dutchmen were traitors, he said, which was the custom of *kāfirs*. But in the end he gave in to the royal will.[26] The VOC was aware of Mĕrtalaya's opposition to accepting Christian assistance and of his advice to Amangkurat II to rely upon Javanese Muslim support alone.[27] In 1679–80, the Company again reported that Amangkurat II spoke of ending his days in Mecca.[28] But he did not go on the pilgrimage and did accept VOC support. Mĕrtalaya fell from favor and was killed in January 1678.[29]

There is no doubt that in these early days Amangkurat II conceived of himself as a Muslim, but his alliance with *kāfirs* raised doubts in the eyes of others about his religious identity. Later, indeed, rumors circulated widely that Amangkurat II was not even Javanese, but rather a son of Admiral Speelman in disguise.[30] These rumors dramatically reflected the problematic nature of an alliance between Sultan Agung's heirs and the infidel Company. In the chronicles is found a prophecy ascribed to Sultan Agung that his descendants would be allied to the Dutch.[31] In *Babad Kraton,* Amangkurat II alludes to this prophecy in rejecting the urgings of Mĕrtalaya.[32] Whether Agung himself ever said such a thing is, on evidence presently available, not knowable. But for a dynasty seeking *kāfir* support in its hour of need, justifying its choice of allies by referring to an admonition of Sultan Agung would be helpful and may indeēd explain the origins of the prophecy in *babad.*

This evidence from early in the reign of Amangkurat II shows that the demands of an Islamic identity may have mattered little to the king, but they mattered much to others. When he tried to regain a woman who was then with Sultan Tirtayasa (also known as Sultan Agĕng) of

Bantĕn (r. 1651–83), the latter wrote back advising him to persist in the religion of his forefathers. Tirtayasa claimed to understand that Amangkurat II now doubted his faith, that he was neither a Muslim nor a Christian but something in between, and that he was no longer a monarch but rather a common man living under Dutch domination.[33] When the VOC bought in auxiliary Bugis troops, Makasarese among Trunajaya's forces wrote to them saying that Muslims should stand together rather than fight each other, and should hate *kāfirs*.[34] Trunajaya's people reportedly told Javanese that they would do them no harm so long as they helped to drive the Dutch from Java, for God and his Prophet would never again bless Java so long as the *kāfirs* remained.[35] But they did remain and, after difficult campaigning, finally succeeded in driving Trunajaya from his court at Kĕdhiri late in 1678.

Raden Kajoran was defeated by a VOC and Javanese force in September 1679. He was captured alive, and when the Dutch commander J. A. Sloot ordered that he be executed, he found that none of the senior Javanese with him was prepared to kill Kajoran. One of the Bugis then volunteered to behead Kajoran and his two sons. In all, 30 men were executed there by the Bugis, 240 others having died in the conquest of Kajoran's fortification.[36]

Finally Trunajaya's end came, but not before he eloquently expressed the issues of identity that had been involved in his rebellion and would remain central to Javanese affairs in coming decades. Trunajaya himself had for a time used the title sultan, claiming to have received it both from his own people and from Mecca, but he abandoned it again after the fall of Kĕdhiri. Now, he said, he was again merely Raden Trunajaya.[37] In response to one of the letters he received from Amangkurat II, Trunajaya replied,

> Your Highness' servant [Trunajaya] does not at all trust the Dutchmen and a half or a third of the Javanese themselves have no wish to appear before your Highness so long as you retain the Dutch. . . . It is not seemly for Your Highness to reign as king and mix and go about with Christians, for even Your Highness' dignitaries have an uncommon aversion to this. And according to your servant's poor judgment, you'll never reign as king in this way, for all the Javanese will become Christians and that will diminish your esteem. . . . Your Highness' ancestors never before had anything to do with Christians for they wished to settle their own affairs, for they [the Dutch] are like grafts that are attached to a tree and finally wither the trunk. . . . Your

Holy Grave site at Giri

> Highness' servant humbly requests that you make your court at Majapahit, so that the whole island of Java might know that Your Highness has established his court there and in the future you must have nothing to do with heretics.[38]

The themes of Javanese Islamic identity as shaped by Sultan Agung were reflected in Trunajaya's letter. A court at Majapahit would represent the long tradition of Javanese royal grandeur (and would symbolize reconciliation of East and Central Java as well), while an aversion to Christians would demonstrate a firm and exclusive commitment to Islam. That Trunajaya made such points and that, one may presume, they resonated in the feelings of those who had supported his rebellion confirm the social strength of an Islamized Javanese identity by the later seventeenth century. But the monarchy—the enemy of Trunajaya and his followers—stood in an ambiguous relationship to that identity. For

Trunajaya himself, the end was predictable. On 26 December 1679, high in the mountains of southeastern Java, he surrendered to a VOC force, wearing a "garment of black satin, a black turban with gold rings about his head and [with] a long black staff in his hand."[39] Amangkurat II personally killed him a few days later.

Amangkurat II traveled with a VOC force to Surabaya, there to confront his enemy the old Panĕbahan (lord) of Giri. This "holy man" or "great saint," as the Dutch called him, was descended from Sunan Giri, one of the legendary *walis* of Java's Islamization.[40] In 1677 he had prophesied the fall of Mataram.[41] Now he continued to represent religiously sanctioned opposition to Amangkurat II. According to *Babad Kraton,* the king first visited the grave of the other *wali* of the Surabaya area, Sunan Ngampel-Dĕnta. As the grandson of Png. Pĕkik of Surabaya, Amangkurat II was related to the Ngampel-Dĕnta line. He then sent an emissary to Giri seeking the Panĕmbahan's blessing and sanction for his rule, as well as a holy *kris* owned by Giri. The question of identity again arose in a most direct sense. The emissary was asked by Giri whether the man purporting to be king was in fact the son of Amangkurat I or of the admiral (Speelman). The emissary chose to lie, saying he was not sure of the answer: the king was accompanied by many Mataram dignitaries, but it was said that he was indeed the son of a foreigner. So Giri refused to bless this king, and battle became inevitable.[42]

The Dutch version of the failed royal mission to Giri (which of course the Europeans knew of only through Javanese sources) is similar to the chronicle account. The Panĕmbahan is reported to have refused obeisance to Amangkurat II on three grounds: (1) "the late Susuhunan [Amangkurat I] ordered me to recognize no other king after his death"; (2) "the old admiral [Speelman] commanded me not to leave Giri but rather that I must uphold my religion as he would uphold his"; and (3) "even if I wanted to descend [from the hilltop gravesite], the Susuhunan Ratu [Sunan Giri], whose grave I care for here, will not allow this."

The lord of Giri gathered together all of his descendants and the inhabitants of Giri and told them, "I have spoken with the king of *jinns* [spirits] . . . who has promised me that a thousand spirits look after each of my sons so that no enemy can harm them. Therefore," he supposedly said, "you my people can oppose [the enemy] without fear, for out of my line shall spring kings of Mataram." There followed a battle on 28 April 1680 that the VOC judged to be the most furious of this entire war. After heavy losses on both sides, the old Panĕmbahan was badly

wounded and fled to the holy grave of Sunan Giri. There he was overtaken by Amangkurat II's Javanese (with no VOC forces present) and was killed. Twenty-five of his sons, sons-in-law, and nephews, along with many others, died in the fighting or were killed after it. The holy *kris* of Giri, named Kālamunyĕng, was sent to Amangkurat II at Surabaya.[43] Thus ended the resistance of Giri, which the *babads* described as holy war (*sabilolah, aprang sabil*).[44] Islamically inspired opposition was now nearly at an end.

It may be that Amangkurat II had by now drawn some conclusions about religious and ethnic identity in Javanese society, as conveyed in the appeals of those who had resisted his authority. He traveled from Surabaya to Tuban, where he visited the grave of the *wali* Sunan Bonang and fell seriously ill with fever. It seemed that he was intentionally avoiding contact with Europeans thereafter. When he subsequently traveled inland to establish a new court with his entourage, he did so on his own, marching two days behind the main VOC party.[45] He reached the site of his new *kraton* of Kartasura in September 1680, when rumors again spread that this was really the Dutch son of Admiral Speelman in disguise, rumors that the VOC suspected may have been concocted in Mataram (where the king's brother Pugĕr still controlled the old court site) or in Tĕmbayat. So Amangkurat II had himself carried about in a palanquin for all to see that he was truly the Javanese king.[46] These were early tokens of an estrangement between Amangkurat II and the VOC that would characterize the rest of his reign.

There was still some royal tidying up to be done. The axis of religious sites south of Klathen, which had offered resistance to Sultan Agung fifty years before and more recently provided support for Trunajaya, still harbored anti-Amangkurat II figures inspired by religious sentiments. Campaigns spearheaded by VOC forces in late 1680 destroyed villages in the area and killed rebel leaders, including princes of Tĕmbayat.[47]

The main challenger remaining was Png. Pugĕr, the king's brother who controlled the old court site at Plered. He was rumored to have been given the title of sultan by the late Panĕmbahan of Giri, although this may have been false.[48] Amangkurat II himself claimed that Pugĕr had expressed contempt for *kāfirs* in 1677.[49] While this evidence may be doubted—for in 1704 Pugĕr would rebel and become King Pakubuwana I as a protégé of the VOC—*Babad Kraton* ascribes anti-*kāfir* feelings to Pugĕr at this time and calls his resistance to Amangkurat

II holy war (*prang sabil, sabilolah*).[50] The term *prang sabil* is also used in a VOC report of Pugĕr's intentions.[51] Both this *babad* and VOC records say also that Pugĕr suffered uncertainty, as had others, about whether Amangkurat II was truly his brother or a Dutchman in disguise. According to the chronicle, Pugĕr had heard that his real brother had gone to Mecca.[52]

In a final year of mopping up in Central Java, Pugĕr was driven out of Mataram.[53] Then remnants of Raden Kajoran's supporters were cleaned up. There was a Makasarese or Balinese adventurer who called himself Raja Namrud, presumably (and somewhat oddly) alluding to Islamic legends of Namrūd, the tyrannical world ruler with supernatural powers who persecuted Ibrāhīm and rebelled against God.[54] He called his fortified headquarters Mĕsir, the Arabic name for Egypt (Miṣr). For a time Pugĕr allied himself with Namrud. But in November 1681 he surrendered with VOC guarantees of his life and two months later was allowed to take up honorable residence in Kartasura. Namrud and over two thousand followers were killed when Mĕsir was stormed by VOC and Javanese forces in one of the bloodiest slaughters of the time. Among the survivors of this butchery was the most senior wife of the late R. Kajoran.[55] Finally, in February 1682, partisans of the Wanakusuma rebels, followers of Kajoran, launched a serious assault on Kartasura that was, in the end, repulsed by VOC fire.

Amangkurat II was now secure in his new *kraton* after a period of bitter conflict that had established a new pattern in Javanese affairs. It has been argued above that from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, the spread of Islam in Java created the possibility of an Islamic and Javanese identity as a synthesis of both traditions. There was not, however, universal acceptance of this, so far as can be judged from the fragmentary evidence. Sultan Agung was the great reconciler of these traditions, mobilizing the political, cultural, social, and supernatural authority of the monarchy. This did not, however, lead to the irrevocable establishment of Javanized Islam (or Islamized Javaneseness) as the dominant paradigm of Javanese society, led by the monarch. For Agung's son Amangkurat I and, in the years of warfare just described, his grandson Amangkurat II stood in opposition to forces who conceived of themselves in Islamic terms. Amangkurat I's slaughter of religious leaders set a pattern still seen in the holy wars declared by his son's opponents. Here Islamic identity was shaped by the *kraton*'s enemies. The

dynasty's dependence on its *kāfir* allies in the Dutch East India Company only entrenched this new pattern. Now the king was not the leader in creating an Islamized state and society. Rather, the king—dependent on foreign non-Muslim military support—was the enemy of those who sought a more Islamized society.

The advance of Islam among Central and East Javanese in this period is difficult to document, but it was probably enhanced by events occurring in West Java, in the Javanese-speaking sultanate of Bantĕn. There one of the great figures of Indonesian Islamic history, Shaikh Yusuf of Makasar (1626–99), was active. He was of aristocratic Makasarese origin but left his homeland to undertake the *ḥajj* in 1644. At Aceh he was initiated into the Qādiriyya Ṣūfī *tarekat*. In Yemen and Medina he studied the Naqshabandiyya and Shaṭṭāriyya, in the latter place with the famed Kurdish scholar Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1615–90). In Damascus he entered the Khalwatiyya order. After more than a quarter century in the Middle East, he returned to Indonesia in 1672. His homeland was by then under Bugis and VOC domination, so he went instead to Bantĕn, where he gained great influence over Sultan Tirtayasa. He seems to have introduced the Naqshabandiyya order there.[56]

Bantĕn in this period aspired to be a major center of pious Islam, as was suggested by the sultan's forceful letter of 1678 to Amangkurat II cited above. The sultan's son went on the pilgrimage to Mecca; he was to be known as Sultan Haji (r. 1682–87), although in fact he became the protégé of the VOC and the enemy of his father and his religiously inspired supporters. This conflict ended in VOC intervention in 1682 and the eventual capture and exile of both Sultan Tirtayasa and Shaikh Yusuf.[57] Despite the final outcome in Bantĕn, the activities of Shaikh Yusuf and Sultan Tirtayasa seem to have powerfully advanced the Islamization of Bantĕn, an area still known for its conspicuous piety. And it may be assumed that, through the networks that connected Islamic religious teachers across Java (as well as more widely), the advance of Islam in Bantĕn would have encouraged similar advance in Central and East Java.

That so much of the anti-Mataram rebellion rested upon Islamic appeals is testimony to the progress of Islam as a definer of identity in the Javanese heartland. This definition had the potential to influence two prior axes of identity: that based on region and that based on social hierarchy. There are multiple references in both Javanese and VOC sources concerning this period to people who are identified in terms of

their region: Mataram, Pajang, Bagĕlen, Kaduwang, or whatever. While it is hard to speak confidently on this matter, it does seem that regionalism was a major source of identity within Javanese society. And certainly social status was a powerful identifier. The progress of Islam as an element in superseding regional identities is a topic to which we will return in the following chapter. The issue of Islam and social hierarchy is raised by the period discussed here.

When Agung acted as the reconciler, the royal definer, of an identity both Islamic and Javanese, he allowed the possibility of influence over the court by those persons who, in all Islamic societies, claim privileged understanding of the will of God. These were the learned scholars, the '*ulamā*' in Arabic, in Javanese commonly known by the term *kyai*. In seventeenth-century Java, these included the two thousand men who, with their families, were slaughtered in front of the *kraton* in 1648. Also included were men such as Raden Kajoran, the Paněmbahan of Giri, and the princes of Tĕmbayat, all now dead at the behest of Amangkurat II. Thus the dynasty now stood in clear and bloody opposition to the leadership of Islam in the Javanese countryside. This opposition was confirmed by the royal alliance with the infidels of the Dutch East India Company. It was conveyed flamboyantly as an issue of visible identity in Amangkurat II's inclination to don Dutch dress, so that (as one chronicle put it),

> If observed from afar
> he looked like the governor-general of Batavia.
> Wearing a hussar sword,
> hanging from a glittering belt covered in fine gold,
> he was not at all like a prince of Mataram
> sitting upon his throne.[58]

Javanese society, growing more Islamized and capable of being mobilized to violent action by Islamic appeals, now had at the top of its hierarchy a royal establishment whose relationship to Islamic identity was at best ambiguous. There is no doubt that the king was, in a formal sense, a Muslim. But how far beyond mere formalities this identity reached was problematic. So it was now possible that advancing Islamization would represent a threat to the established hierarchy in Java. If the king was the enemy of Islamic leaders, how could he be the head of the entire society? In the social-cultural tension thus created—

and which was not to be resolved until well into the following century—lay the roots of much of the chaos that would characterize the period of the court of Kartasura (1680–1746.

Notes

[1] De Graaf, *Van Goens,* p. 67.

[2] H. J. de Graaf, *De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, vorst van Mataram, 1646–1677, VKI* vols. 33, 39 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961–62), vol. II, pp. 4–5.

[3] *BS* I:82. Note that this is one of the few erroneous dates in this MS. AJ 1580 was equivalent to 9 Oct. 1657–28 Sept. 1658; the correct year was AJ 1581 (29 Sept. 1658–17 Sept. 1659). See ibid., p. 180.

[4] *BS* I:60.

[5] Note the references in *BS* I:80, II:10.

[6] De Graaf, *Van Goens,* pp. 74–75, 202–3, 221, 238, 148–50, 254.

[7] Ibid., pp. 123–24.

[8] *BS* I:70.

[9] Amangkurat I occupied Plered from 1647; Ricklefs, *Tradition*, p. 176.

[10] *BS* I:61, 70.

[11] De Graaf, *Van Goens,* p. 217.

[12] Ibid., p. 230.

[13] Ibid., pp. 237, 260–61.

[14] Ibid., p. 263.

[15] Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen MS 98(7), in Leiden University library. For further information, see Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof; Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum; Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1967–80), vol. II, p. 712.

[16] De Graaf, *Mangku-Rat I,* vol. II, pp. 15–22. See also Ricklefs, *Tradition,* pp. 76–77, 179.

[17] M. C. Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy in Java, 1677–1726: Asian and European Imperialism in the Early Kartasura Period* (Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen and Unwin, 1993), p. 31.

[18] H. J. de Graaf, "Het Kadjoran-vraagstuk," *Djåwå* vol. 20 (1940), pp. 274–78, 280.

[19] For more extensive accounts of the course of Trunajaya's rebellion, see de Graaf, *Mangku-Rat I,* vol. II; or Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 32–57.

[20] Speelman and *raad,* Surabaya, to Batavia, 23 May 1677, in dJ VII, p. 118.

[21] dJ VI, pp. xxi–xxii, xxiv.

[22] *BK* f. 355r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 2); *BTJ(BP)* vol. XII, p. 39.

[23] AR II, Tĕgal, to governor-general, Batavia, n.d., rec'd 31 July 1677, under date 1 August 1677; AR II to Speelman, n.d., rec'd Grĕsik 16 Aug. 1677, under date 3 Sept. 1677; both in VOC 1329 (OB 1678). The first of these is also in dJ VII, pp. 130–32.

[24] *BS* II:22–26; *BK* ff. 355r., 357v. (published ed. vol. 1, p. 405; vol. II, p. 2); *BTJ (BP)* vol. XII, pp. 32, 39.

[25] Speelman and *raad,* Jĕpara, to Batavia, 14 Oct. 1677, in dJ VII, pp. 157–58.

[26] *BK* ff. 361r.–364r. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 6–9). See also the related later episode in *BK* ff. 376r.–377v., ending in Mĕrtalaya's death (published ed. vol. II, pp. 24–26).

[27] dJ VII, pp. xxi–xxiii.

[28] Couper et al., Sala, to Batavia, 13 Nov. 1679, in dJ VII, p. 278; Batavia to H.XVII, 30 Nov./11 Dec. 1679, in dJ VII, p. 35; Couper et al., Surabaya, to Batavia, 14 May 1680, in dJ VII, p. 306.

[29] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, p. 48.

[30] Ibid., pp. 58, 59, 62–64. See also the 1678 rumors that AR II was dead, in H. J. de Graaf (ed.), *De expeditie van Anthonio Hurdt, Raad van Indië, als Admiraal en Superintendent naar de binnenlanden van Java, Sept.-Dec. 1678, volgens het journaal van Johan Jurgen Briel, Secretaris* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), p. 138.

[31] *BK* ff. 271v.–272r. (published ed. vol. I, p. 304); *BTJ(BP)* vol. X, p. 15.

[32] *BK* f. 364r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 9).

[33] *DR 1678,* pp. 213–14. See also *translaat brief,* rec'd Jĕpara 22 Apr. 1678, in dJ VII, pp. 209–11.

[34] Poolman and *raad,* Surabaya, to Batavia, 27 Mar. 1679, in dJ VII, pp. 265–66.

[35] Speelman, instructions for Saint-Martin, Jĕpara and Sĕmarang, 23 Mar. 1678, in dJ VII, pp. 198–99.

[36] Sloot and Taalbeecq, Wanakarta, to Marchier and *raad,* Jĕpara, 20 Sept. 1679, in dJ VII, pp. 271–74.

[37] Briel, report to Couper, Payak, 28 Dec. 1679, in dJ VII, p. 293; Couper, Surabaya, to Marchier, Jĕpara, 7 Jan. 1680, in dJ VII, p. 282.

[38] Trunajaya to AR II, transl. Surabaya 11 Jan. 1680, under date 19 Jan. 1680, in VOC 1360 (OB 1681). Most of the text is printed in H. J. de Graaf, "De opkomst van Raden Troenadjaja," *Djåwå* vol. 20, no. 1 (Jan. 1940), pp. 85–86.

[39] Briel's description cited in H. J. de Graaf, "Gevangenneming en dood van Raden Truna-Djaja, 26 Dec. 1679–2 Jan. 1680," *TBG* vol. 85, pt. 2 (1952), pp. 299–300.

[40] E.g., Couper et al., Surabaya, to Batavia, 12 Jan. 1680, in dJ VII, p. 284; *DR 1680,* p. 306.

[41] De Graaf, *Mangku-Rat I,* vol. II, p. 111.

[42] *BK* ff. 391r.–392r. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 44–45).

[43] Couper and *raad,* Surabaya, to Batavia, 14 May 1680, in dJ VII, pp. 298–303. Also *DR 1680,* pp. 323–24.

[44] *BS* II:30; *BK* f. 392r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 45).

[45] Couper et al., on board ship, to Marchier et al., 7 July 1680; Couper et al., Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 15 Aug. 1680; Sloot and Bastincq, Sĕmarang, to Couper, 17 Aug. 1680; Couper et al., Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 9 Sept. 1680; Marchier, et al., Jĕpara, to Batavia, 18 Sept. 1680; Couper et al., Wanakarta, to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1680; all in VOC 1360 (OB 1681). Also Batavia to H.XVII, 13 Oct. 1680, in dJ VII, pp. 38–40; *DR 1680,* pp. 452, 595.

[46] Couper et al., Wanakarta, to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1680, in VOC 1360 (OB 1681); *DR 1680,* p. 687.

[47] See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 61–62.

[48] Couper et al., Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 9 Sept. 1680, in VOC 1360 (OB 1681). There is no other evidence known to me that confirms Pugĕr ever used the title sultan.

[49] Couper et al., Wanakarta, to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1680, in VOC 1360 (OB 1681).
[50] *BK* ff. 395v., 405v. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 50, 61).
[51] Couper et al., Wanakarta, to Batavia, 11 Nov. 1680, in VOC 1362 (OB 1681).
[52] *BK* ff. 395v. 398r. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 49–52); Sloot to Couper, Wanakarta, 30 Sept. 1680, in VOC 1360 (OB 1681); Batavia to H.XVII, 29 Nov. 1680, in dJ VII, p. 52.
[53] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 63–68.
[54] See Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. VII, pp. 952–53.
[55] Couper et al., Wanagiri, to Batavia, 18 Dec. 1681, in VOC 1380 (OB 1683).
[56] Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei historis, geografis dan sosiologis,* intro. Hamid Algar (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1992), pp. 34–46. See also Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar: Seorang ulama, Sufi dan pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994).
[57] See Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia,* pp. 78–79.
[58] *BK* f. 402r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 57).

CHAPTER 4

A Dynasty in Search of an Identity, 1680–1726

For over three decades, both courtly and noncourtly Javanese figures sought to reconcile the issues that had come to a head in the Trunajaya War. They did this in a context that continuously problematized questions of religious identity by involving the *kāfir* VOC. It seems clear that the consistent thread in this was a widespread acceptance, on all sides, that a life of Islamic piety could not be reconciled with close alliance to the Dutch East India Company. This was an issue simultaneously religious and ethnic in character. A pious Muslim ruler should not call upon infidels for support, and a true Javanese king should not require the aid of foreigners to govern his people.

The relationship between *kraton* and Company was strained throughout the early 1680s. Persistent armed challenges to Amangkurat II from small insurgent groups time and again brought royal forces into action alongside VOC soldiers. The Company, meanwhile, pressed for the fulfillment of Amangkurat II's contractual obligations to repay the VOC's war costs and to allow it various commercial concessions. But the treaty obligations were not fulfilled, and there was ample evidence that the king found the continuing VOC presence unwelcome. The Company wished also to disentangle itself from Javanese affairs but found itself impelled by current needs and prior expenses to maintain a role in the interior.[1]

It was only rarely true that the VOC demanded of the king something that might directly compromise his credentials as a Muslim. This may in fact have been involved in only one significant episode, when in 1684 Amangkurat II sought to ban the use of opium in order, the Company said, "to save the youths from ruin."[2] The sultan of Bantĕn had already done this long before. But opium was a VOC product, over the import of which the company had been granted a monopoly by the king in

1677. So the VOC dissuaded him and carried on with its opium trade.[3] Islamic law forbids intoxicants, and it is possible that this motivated the king's attempted ban. But there may also have been other motivations, social or indeed commercial, that inspired him.

The mere presence of the Company, however, compromised the court's Islamic identity. The remaining rebel remnants still appear to have relied principally upon religious leadership and appeals to rally opposition to the king. Rebels from the Kajoran-Tĕmbayat area were said by the VOC to have the southern mountains (Gunungkidul) under their power through "priestly magic."[4]

The king's wish to distance himself from the VOC, which probably arose in part from the doubtful nature of his Islamic identity as an ally of infidels, culminated in the murder of a VOC ambassador, Captain François Tack, and seventy-four of his men at the *kraton* in 1686. The king's agent in this was a former Batavian slave of Balinese origin named Surapati, who may or may not in fact have been a Muslim, but who was depicted as one in Javanese sources.[5] Surapati had been the leader of robber bands around Batavia until VOC military actions against him in 1684 led him to flee to Kartasura. He was welcomed at court and, on the basis of his reputation for military prowess and opposition to the Dutch, quickly became the darling of an anti-VOC party. The evidence for what followed in both Javanese and Dutch is voluminous, contradictory, and confused, but there can be little doubt that Amangkurat II himself was at the center of a plot to attack the VOC party when it reached the court in February 1686. *Babad ing Sangkala* likens the episode to the driving of stags into an enclosure for a royal hunt.[6]

Tack and his companions were tricked into a position on the great square before the court where a pitched battle took place between him and Surapati, who was evidently reinforced by royal soldiers disguised as Balinese. In the end, VOC discipline was broken. The Company's survivors fled to join the remaining VOC garrison at Kartasura, leaving the bodies of Tack and the others behind. After brief displays of victorious bravado, Surapati (whose own losses had been substantial) left for East Java, evidently bearing the king's gratitude. After several tense weeks, the 248 surviving Company personnel were allowed to leave Kartasura for the north coast. For twenty years there would be no VOC garrison or permanent representative at the *kraton*.

Both Javanese and VOC sources depict religion as an element in this episode. Early in the Surapati story, *Babad Kraton* depicts the sultan of

Cirĕbon as saying to Surapati, "You will be an enemy of infidels."[7] Later the same text describes the court discussion about how to respond to the VOC's demand that Surapati be turned over. Png. Pugĕr tells the king that he should not oppose this, but that none of his Javanese subjects should take part, for Surapati had done the king no wrong and was also "of the Islamic people" (*bongsa Islam*).[8]

In the wake of the massacre, the VOC feared that there was a widespread anti-*kāfir* conspiracy among the region's Muslims that was directed against itself. Because of this "general commotion and intent of the malicious Muslims," Batavia sought military reinforcements from the Netherlands.[9] Amangkurat II, while pretending innocence in the killing of Tack, contacted other regional powers in a search for allies against the VOC. He was in contact with the Minangkabau adventurer and royal pretender Raja Sakti (Ahmad Syah ibn Iskandar).[10] Anti-VOC letters were found in Cirĕbon that employed "superstitious Muslim notions."[11] There were also various contacts with Johor, which had substantial trade links with Java. At this time Johor received diplomatic support and gifts of munitions from Buddhist Siam in its protests about VOC interference with Johor's ships.[12] Amangkurat II, too, contacted the king of Siam directly—demonstrating that his search for allies was not limited to Muslims—but his request for military supplies was evidently turned down.[13] In Bantĕn, reported the VOC, Sultan Haji warned them in advance of a plot against the *kāfirs* cooked up by "a party of malicious Muslim priestly brood and malcontents," to which the Company's personnel would otherwise have fallen victim, with the same consequences as at Kartasura.[14]

In Batavia itself, the Company felt that its Muslim subjects were regarding their religion with a renewed and suspicious dedication, so the Europeans set about improving the city's fortifications.[15] In 1689 their worst fears seemed confirmed by the rebellion of one of the VOC's leading Indonesian soldiers, Captain Jonker. He was head of the Company's Ambonese forces and himself a high-born Muslim from Manipa (near Ambon). He had served the company heroically in war both in Indonesia and in Sri Lanka. In 1679 he had personally taken the surrender of Trunajaya and in 1681 he had been decorated for his distinguished service in a special ceremony in Batavia. But in 1689 the VOC concluded that Jonker was leading a plot to murder all Christians, inspired by Raja Sakti and encouraged by Amangkurat II. Jonker was killed in action, but the survivors among his followers fled Batavia for

refuge in Kartasura, strengthening VOC suspicions of the *kraton*'s involvement. The following year, however, Amangkurat II surrendered fifty of these men to the VOC.[16]

The Europeans' impression of a rising tide of Islamic religiosity and political action is mirrored, at least to some extent, in the *Babad Kraton* account of this period. Whether that reflects *kraton* views of the 1680s or the perception of that period nearly a century later, when the extant text was written, it still provides a window on Javanese understandings. And there one does, at least, find the Europeans spoken of as *kāfirs* (infidels) and opposition to them described as *sabilolah* (holy war).[17]

International Islamic political activism was probably involved in this agitation in Indonesia, although only a few glimpses remain in the extant evidence. At the time of his death in 1703, Amangkurat II was said in *Babad Kraton* to have had an Arabic *sharīf* (a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad) as his *guru*.[18] In 1688 the VOC arrested an Indian Muslim "priest" whom they called "Cheriff Habibola" (Sharīf Ḥabīb Allāh). This man had traveled from Surat to Siam, Johor, Jambi, and elsewhere en route to Palembang, whence he had arrived in Java with five companions, intending to travel to Kartasura. "But like all those vicious Muslim characters with rebellious impulses toward us," said Batavia, "he could not restrain himself and at Cirĕbon he began rather a lot of grumbling and achieved some standing . . . , because he was reputed to be a great holy man." So he was arrested by the VOC, which effectively controlled Cirĕbon by that time, and was shipped off to Sri Lanka for ultimate exile on the Cape of Good Hope. But then the Muslim governors of Surat, claiming to represent the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (Awrangzīb, r. 1658–1707), protested. This emperor was a devout Muslim and favorably inclined to the *'ulamā'*. It is not clear who Ḥabīb Allāh was that he should attract the protection of Aurangzeb or his representatives. But this episode certainly suggests that he was more than a wandering nobody. The VOC decided they must give in, so they returned Ḥabīb Allāh ("that hypocritical character") to Surat, "to avoid difficulties with the victorious and superstitious Muslim Mughal king."[19]

Amangkurat II may have been swept along with this apparently growing, Islamically inspired political activism. He may well have felt that it was politically wise—and almost certainly personally attractive—to distance himself from his VOC allies. He dramatically cleared his court city of the European *kāfir* presence in 1686 by the assault on Captain Tack's party. He had ships prepared on the *pasisir* in order, so

he said, to travel as a pilgrim to Mecca, leaving his kingdom in the hands of his son the crown prince.[20] But he did not go himself. Instead, according to *Babad ing Sangkala,* he sent representatives to undertake the *ḥajj* on his behalf in 1700–1.[21] Some others, it seems, nevertheless continued to contest his Islamic credentials. At least, there continued to be rebel remnants from among Kajoran's followers, whose oppositional appeals were presumably founded upon issues of an Islamic nature.[22] And as the king's realm began to crumble, he had to ask himself again to whom he could turn for military support. The answer that loomed before him—no matter how unpalatably—was the *kāfir* VOC. As Surapati carved out an independent realm for himself in the southeast of Java and Amangkurat II's vassal lord of West Madura, Cakraningrat II (r. 1680–1707), increasingly controlled northeastern Java, Amangkurat II faced the prospect of actually needing the Company again. But his desultory gestures of reconciliation came to nothing, for the VOC was certain that he had the blood of Tack's embassy on his hands. No rapprochement was achieved before his death in November 1703.[23]

The political machinations that followed Amangkurat II's death precipitated renewed military intervention by the VOC, in what came to be known as the First Javanese War of Succession (1704–8). The dead king's son succeeded him as Amangkurat III (r. 1703–8), but it very soon became clear that he was opposed by his uncle, the late king's brother, Png. Pugĕr. Nevertheless, Amangkurat III's accession went ahead in a ceremony graced by the man mentioned above who was said to be a *sharīf* (a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad) from Mecca, the *guru* of the late king.[24]

Before the tension between Amangkurat III and Pugĕr could come to a head, the latter's son launched his own independent rebellion using devout Islamic appeals. This son, R. Suryakusuma, accompanied the dead king's body to the royal graves at Imagiri in November 1703 but did not then return to court. Instead, he and one of his brothers went westward into rebellion in Bagĕlen. There they gathered a substantial following and within days had repulsed Kartasura soldiers sent after them.[25] Suryakusuma's background is somewhat unclear. *Babad Kraton* depicts him as a valiant warrior with supernatural powers.[26] In 1708 the VOC was told that his mother was one of Pugĕr's concubines who was born at Mt. Lawu but was a "priest's daughter" from Lipura, a holy site in Mataram where a falling star is supposed to have prophesied to Senapati Ingalaga over a century before that he would become king of

Java.[27] So it is possible that Suryakusuma had close links through his mother's family with pious Islamic figures and guardians of holy sites.

According to Javanese sources, Suryakusuma took grandiloquent titles that suggest the strength of Islamic religious sensibilities in his appeals: Prabu Panatagama (king, regulator of religion) and Susunan Waliolah Panatagama (king, friend of God, regulator of religion).[28] But his rebellion failed. Within about five months he was captured by Amangkurat III's forces. The king eventually decided to pardon him, after evidently having contemplated his execution, and to allow him to live at court as a senior prince.[29]

Far more dangerous to Amangkurat III was the rebellion of his uncle, Suryakusuma's father, Png. Pugĕr. After a period of tension, Pugĕr fled the court in March 1704 and headed for the *pasisir,* there to solicit VOC, Madurese, and Javanese support to usurp the throne. The Europeans were at first unsure what to do but were persuaded to back Pugĕr by Cakraningrat II of West Madura, an obese octogenarian warhorse who evoked great awe among both Javanese and Europeans. In July 1704 the VOC recognized Pugĕr as Susuhunan Pakubuwana I (r. 1704–19). It proved more difficult than Cakraningrat II and Pakubuwana I had predicted to muster Javanese forces, but in the end a formidable VOC-Javanese-Madurese alliance was put together. This army marched to Kartasura in August-September 1705. Amangkurat III abandoned the court without firing a shot and fled eastward to join with Surapati.[30]

With Pakubuwana I upon the throne of Kartasura, the dynasty faced again the dilemma of Islamic identity. Usurpation, in itself, raised serious enough issues of legitimacy for Pakubuwana I. In addition, like Amangkurat II at the start of his reign, the new king needed to reconcile his claim to rule legitimately over Javanese Muslim subjects with his need for the military support of European *kāfirs* and other non-Javanese to do it. *Babad ing Sangkala* relevantly describes the army that placed Pakubuwana I on the throne of Kartasura as "Dutchmen without number and people from abroad of all kinds."[31] It was not the case that every Javanese was adamant that the VOC be expelled from Java. Indeed, a series of coastal lords proposed in vain that they should become vassals of the VOC rather than of the *kraton,* an arrangement that would save them political entanglement in Javanese dynastic politics and much expense. Such proposals the Europeans consistently refused, preferring to see the *pasisir* governed to their benefit by a malleable king in Kartasura rather than by themselves.[32] It was nevertheless true that,

however many coastal lords were willing to cooperate with the VOC, among those Javanese who resisted Pakubuwana I and his *kāfir* alliance, Islam was a major issue.

Pakubuwana I's legitimacy problems were formidable. The chronicles contain stories that ascribe supernatural legitimacy to the king before his usurpation, and thereby provide legitimacy for that act. He was said to be able to handle supernaturally potent holy regalia.[33] He reportedly experienced a supernatural transfer of legitimacy from the dead king when, in a ritual attested elsewhere in dynastic practice, he kissed the dead king's penis. It then stood erect with "a radiant light as large as a peppercorn" on its tip, which Pugĕr sucked up, meaning that "indeed to Png. Pugĕr alone would change the inheritance, the ruling of the land of Java."[34] Finally, there is a bizarre *babad* story of the *tĕnung Wĕlanda* (Dutch magician), a supernatural figure whom the VOC in Batavia supposedly hired to defeat the Javanese king in magic. When the *tĕnung* went to Kartasura, it found Amangkurat III already on the throne, but the latter was so frightened that he denied that he was king and directed the *tĕnung* to his uncle Pugĕr. Pugĕr took this as a further sign that he was the rightful king and magically defeated the *tĕnung* by using powerful incantations.[35] Whenever these stories were put into the chronicles—either at the time they purport to describe or later—they served to provide legitimacy to the indubitably illegitimate act of usurpation.

In the real world, not so susceptible to scribal manipulation as the *babad* texts, Pakubuwana I faced two specific problems that left his legitimacy gravely in doubt. First and probably most important, Amangkurat III was still alive and had joined with Surapati in East Java. Second, when he fled he took with him most of the royal *pusakas*—holy objects (mostly weapons) that were thought to be supernaturally potent and to encapsulate and symbolize the powers of kingship. In fact, Pakubuwana I would end his days with most of the *pusakas* still unrecovered, but in the meantime the pursuit of Amangkurat III and his magical booty occasioned some of the costliest campaigns the VOC had yet experienced in Java.

The locus of the fighting of 1705–8 was East Java, particularly the plains, marshes, and mountains south of Surabaya, a setting appropriate to issues of religious identity. These regions were, in some senses, not fully a part of the Javanese realm. The population there appears to have been very small, and much of the countryside was wild and trackless.

Blambangan, the extreme eastern salient of Java, had been conquered by Sultan Agung in 1636–40 but in the years thereafter the Javanese dynasty's pretensions in that area quickly disintegrated. Balinese kings ruled and fought over Blambangan. When Balinese influence was weak, independent rulers arose. The region was not to be Islamized until late in the eighteenth century, and of course the island of Bali was never converted to Islam. Balinese culture is closely related to Javanese. Both share the classical Hindu-Buddhist literary legacies of pre-Islamic Java, which indeed are largely known now because they were preserved in Bali. This mixture of Balinese and Javanese, of Hindus and Muslims, on top of the intervention of the VOC with its motley army of Europeans and others gave issues of ethnic and religious identity a central role in the First Javanese War of Succession (1705–8).

The campaign of 1706 was no victory for the VOC-Kartasura side, even though it led to the death of Surapati. In September a VOC force of 2,500 indigenous and 930 European soldiers plus 10,000 Javanese and Madurese marched toward Surapati's capital at Pasuruan. They faced dreadful conditions as they crossed rivers and marshes, hunted for provisions, and endured enemy fire. Eventually they attacked Surapati's main fortress at Bangil. Surapati himself died in the defense. But by then the wet monsoon had set in and the VOC-Kartasura army, having lost some four hundred to five hundred men in the assault on Bangil, had to withdraw to Surabaya without attacking Pasuruan itself. The region through which it had marched immediately relapsed to the control of Surapati's sons.[36]

Dissension among Surapati's sons led to the intervention of one Abdullah, whose origins are obscure. This was evidently the same as a man who claimed to be an Arab shaikh from Mecca, who used the Malay title Ĕncik and who one VOC source says was reportedly a Javanese from Mataram.[37] Whatever the case, he articulated the Islamic appeals of the enemies of Pakubuwana I. In identical letters that he sent in early 1707 to the lords of Paměkasan and Sumĕnĕp in Madura, he admonished them to support the fugitive king Amangkurat III against Pakubuwana I. The Paměkasan letter reads as follows.[38]

> Blessing, salvation and prosperity to R. A. Wiradikara and R. A. Adikara and all the heads of the religious in Paměkasan from a dignitary of Mecca named Ĕncik Abdullah, also to all the learned ones there, to whom I give blessing. Furthermore, I inform you all that I have been

> sent by the Sultan of Mecca, by the four *imāms* [of the Orthodox Schools of Law], and by all the *sharīfs* and *muftīs* [jurists] who are in Mecca and Medina, to raise up the king of Kartasura who is at Kědhiri [Amangkurat III] and to give him the name Sultan Muhammad Maulana Ibnu'l Mustapa, along with a seal and two banners, one green and one yellow.[39] Believe you certainly the order of the Sultan of Mecca and if you should not believe that the Sultan of Mecca has elevated the Sultan who lives at Kědhiri, then he shall certainly not accept your [profession of] faith for all eternity, for it is no more than reasonable that all Muslim people should follow the command of the Sultan of Mecca.
>
> Now, you all believe in the fine Susuhunan [Pakubuwana I]: who has elevated him other than the Dutch? It is not at all suitable that this fine Susuhunan is a king, because firstly he is made that by the infidels, secondly he ruins all the Muslim people, thirdly he therefore can't pass down the kingship in his inheritance.
>
> Heh, all my Muslim friends, if you believe the saying of the Sultan of Mecca, then write a letter to Kědhiri or Pasuruan in the month of the pilgrimage.[40] And if you follow Sultan Muhammad Maulana Ibnu'l Mustapa there will be absolutely no difficulty for you according to the thinking of the Sultan of Mecca, the four *imāms*, the *sharīfs*, and all the *muftīs* who are in Mecca and Medina, for it behooves all of the Javanese to go to war for the faith.

The writer then dates his installation of Amangkurat III as sultan early in February 1707. The letter to the Suměněp lords is identical. Although these letters did not succeed in detaching Madura from the VOC and Kartasura cause, they are important evidence of the other side's appeals.

The campaign of 1707 led to a more permanent enhancement of Pakubuwana I's prospects. An army of about 25,000 soldiers marched eastward from Kartasura via Kědhiri and was joined by a force of 15,000 from Surabaya and Madura near Carat in East Java. As more troops were gathered, the VOC-Kartasura side had in the end 46,000 soldiers to attack Pasuruan in September. Amangkurat III and Surapati's sons fled to the mountain wilderness around Malang. This time the VOC erected three fortresses so as to maintain a longer-term presence at Pasuruan. Both Dutch and Javanese sources say that, in a final act of revenge, the VOC commander located Surapati's unmarked grave, disinterred the remains, and had them burned.[41]

Plans were begun for another campaign in 1708, but before it could commence Amangkurat III surrendered to the VOC. He was held for a time at Surabaya, then shipped to Batavia. One of his conditions in

surrendering was that he be allowed to keep the royal *pusakas,* and there can be little doubt that he was promised this. In Batavia, however, he was required to hand them over. No VOC officer, nor many Javanese even at the *kraton,* could actually identify these sacred and powerful objects, which were seen only by very few members of the court's inner circle. So when Amangkurat III handed over certain objects to the Company, only he could know whether they were the true *pusakas*. Not surprisingly, they were not. The most important *pusakas* in his keeping he clearly took with him when the VOC consigned him to exile in Sri Lanka. They would not return to the *kraton* until 1737, when they were brought back to Java after Amangkurat III's death by his sons.[42]

The discovery that he was not about to regain the royal *pusakas* may have somewhat unsettled Pakubuwana I, whose response (according to *Babad Kraton*) was to assert that he did not need them so long as two of Java's Islamic holy rites remained. He reportedly told his chief administrative officer, the Patih Danuréja,[43]

> It is my feeling, Patih
> that even if all the *pusakas* of the land of Java
> are taken to Jakarta,
> those which are pikes and *krisses,*
> it concerns me not
> just as long as there are still
> the graveyard of Kadilangu
> and the mosque of Dĕmak, Patih.
> Yes, know
> that these two
> are the *pusakas* of the land of Java
> which are essential, there are no others.[44]

The mosque of Dĕmak is traditionally said to have been the first to be built in Java; it was probably first constructed toward the end of the fifteenth century. Kadilangu is the holy grave site of Sunan Kalijaga, the *wali* most closely connected with the early legends of the Mataram dynasty. Such places were never before or after regarded as *pusakas*. Indeed, they lacked one essential element of a royal *pusaka:* its capacity to be kept in the inner sanctum of the court, thence to radiate power in support of the monarch. Pakubuwana I's idea was both novel and silly, and seems to have been devoid of significance.

There remained Surapati's sons and other rebels, who were the targets

Holy grave site at Kadilangu

of the campaigns of September-November 1708. Like other marches of this war, this took place far too late in the year, when the wet monsoon was beginning, with consequent difficulties for movement and immense losses through disease.[45]

Early in the campaign, Surapati's son R. A. Wiranagara wrote to one of Amangkurat III's most senior officials, Tg. Wiraguna, who had surrendered with him, urging him in the name of Islam to return to the struggle against the *kāfirs*.[46] Wiranagara asserted that the elevation of Amangkurat III as sultan (by Abdullah, who was with Surapati's sons at this time) was legitimate in Islamic law, so why did Wiraguna not assist him to regain the throne of his ancestors? For his ancestors had been confirmed upon the throne "by the friends of God the old patriarchs [presumably meaning the Javanese *walis*], with agreement from Mecca." The letter went on,

> What is the matter that His Majesty the Sultan [Amangkurat III] does not display the usual state, in accordance with the usual manner of kings? And why does he show himself to be no champion of the Islamic faith, and not to follow in the footsteps of our Prophet? Brother

> Wiraguna, from all the circumstances of these deeds I can see nothing other than that the Sultan favours the oppression of the true faith and is contemptuous of the glory of our Prophets. Thereby the infidel faith will spread so much more.
>
> Brother Wiraguna, it cannot be unknown to you how the infidels apply their utmost means to root out the believers. Why will the Sultan and you not also strive to spread our faith and to reduce that of the infidels?
>
> But note well what I say, brother Wiraguna: we live at the end of times and the world is at its end. And therefore, in my opinion, it is high time that we believers bring together our forces from all of Java. For it is well enough known to me, and to many others, how the affairs of the Sultan stand and that his uncle [Pakubuwana I] has truly wrested the kingdom from him, and that the *pasisir* officials never abandoned him. Why do we need to hide this or keep it concealed any longer? For if we do this, it won't be long before the [Hindu] Balinese finally fight the [Christian] Dutch over the land of Java.[47]

Wiranagara failed to persuade Amangkurat III or Wiraguna to return to the struggle. Amangkurat III was sent into exile. The VOC and its Javanese allies continued their campaign. Abdullah was captured and, when Pakubuwana I's son Png. Blitar and his *patihs* said they wanted him dead, the VOC commander Govert Cnoll obligingly had him *krissed*.[48] Wiranagara himself was seriously wounded in action and later died.[49] This was the last campaign of the First Javanese War of Succession. When the VOC-Kartasura army withdrew from the windswept, chilly, wet, and disease-ridden mountains around Malang, it had lost more than five thousand dead and had about eight thousand sick.[50] The last major opponents to Pakubuwana I had been removed.

The end of the First Javanese War of Succession in 1708 left Pakubuwana I physically more secure upon his throne but not, it seems, more secure in his royal and religious legitimacy. The years that followed were marked by interference—sometimes murderous in character—by the VOC in the *kraton*'s affairs and by the proliferation of intrigues among the kingdom's elite. On the outer fringes of the realm there were signs of disaffection. But there were not yet serious challenges to Pakubuwana I's rule.[51]

Pakubuwana II may have attempted major ritual expressions of Islamic piety in 1715, although clear evidence for his motivation is lacking. *Babad ing Sangkala* reported

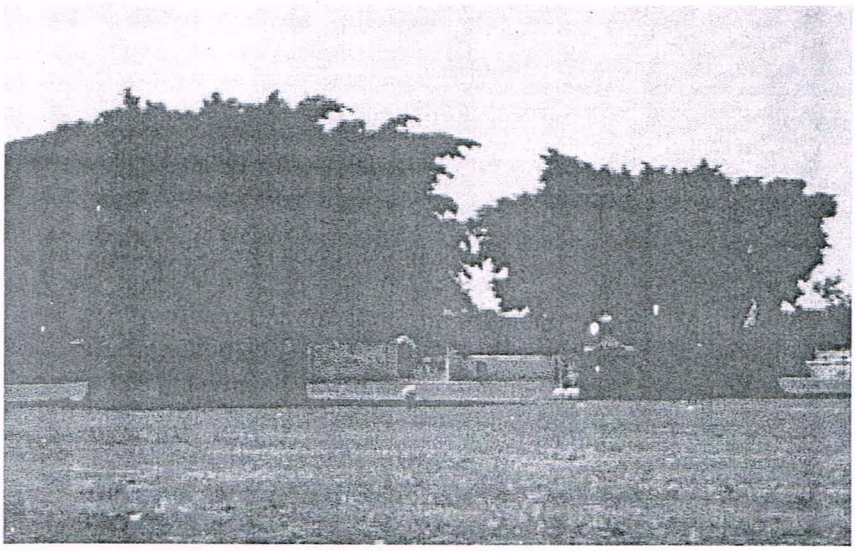
> . . . in the year
> Dal it was calculated,
> the king wore a [braided or silk] sash and fez.
>
> . . .
>
> "The obstacle of the *mantri* was heard in the earth" [AJ 1639/7 Jan.–27 Dec. 1715]
> When the king wore a sash and *kuluk* [fez].
> After three months
> shaved was the king,
> on Monday-Pon, in the morning,
> the date the tenth,
> Ramĕlan [Ramadan] the month
> in [the *wuku*] Wugu, the year Dal [Monday-Pon, *wuku* Wugu, 10 Ramĕlan, Dal AJ 1639/9 Sept. 1715].
> When he was shaved, [the cannon] Gunturgĕni sounded
> three times, when he was shaved.[52]

The VOC did not note the king's wearing of a fez, which seems probably to have been a mark of Islamic identity. But the Company's officers did report the ritual shaving of Pakubuwana I's head on the square before the court during the fasting month, while the great cannon Gunturgĕni was fired three times, on 9 September 1715. All of the men of the realm were ordered to do likewise and did so, except for the crown prince, who declined on the grounds of recurring headaches and eye problems, which he feared would be exacerbated by shaving.[53]

The ritual fashion of this royal head shaving and its emulation by all the men of the realm are sufficient evidence that this was a significant event. It remains difficult, however, to define its meaning more narrowly. In the *Qur'ān* it is said,

> God has truly made the dream of His Apostle come true:
> You will surely enter the Holy Mosque in security
> if God please, without any fear,
> having shaved your heads and cut your hair.[54]

There are several *ḥadīth* that refer to head shaving, which is a mark of a pilgrim. On the occasion of the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet is reported to have invoked triple blessings upon those who shaved their heads.[55] Head shaving was also urged for reasons of hygiene.[56]



Fenced *waringin* trees at the modern court of Yogyakarta

Throughout the Indonesian archipelago, head shaving was recognized as a significant ritual act often connected with Islamic piety and/or the fulfillment of an oath.[57] Van Goens reported that Pakubuwana I's father, Amangkurat I, had also shaved his head from time to time and that all the adult males of the kingdom emulated him, on pain of confiscation of property and torture if they did not do so.[58]

Pakubuwana I had his head shaved a second time in February 1716, and all the men of his realm again did likewise.[59] At about the same, the fenced *waringin* trees in the great square before the *kraton*—significant ritual objects in the life of the court—were reportedly replaced.[60] Thus major ritual acts, some of which were probably associated with religious identity, carried on. But it is not possible to demonstrate conclusively to what extent they were associated with Islamic piety. Some may have been connected with the recovery from serious illness of Pakubuwana I's queen, Ratu Pakubuwana.[61]

During the reign of Pakubuwana I the role that his queen was to play in the *kraton*'s religious life was not yet clear. Ratu Pakubuwana was regarded by the VOC as a formidable political actor within the court. In the Company's judgment it was the Ratu "who has had the leading role in the government of this king since its beginning."[62] But

she was not visible to these outsiders as a religious figure of importance.

The Ratu was, however, evidently a person of mystical and literary instincts as well as a shrewd politician with great influence over her royal husband. When Pakubuwana I usurped the throne with VOC support in 1705, it was Ratu Pakubuwana who led the search through the chaos of the abandoned royal apartments for the royal *pusakas*, sacred objects (mostly weapons) that were believed to embody supernatural powers of kingship.[63] It is to be presumed that she was one of the very few people who had seen and could therefore identify these holy objects. When Pakubuwana I died in 1719, the crown prince (Amangkurat IV, r. 1719–26) at first did not take possession of the *pusakas*. Rather, he left them in Ratu Pakubuwana's control until he was formally installed as the successor in May, after receiving confirmation of VOC support.[64] In Javanese thinking, any person, such as Ratu Pakubuwana, who could safely handle these powerful *pusakas* was possessed of special supernatural powers.

In 1715 Ratu Pakubuwana was responsible for the writing of a pious work entitled *Sĕrat Menak*.[65] This very large volume (1,188 pp.) contains romanticized tales surrounding the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, Amir Hamza, turned into a Javanese version from a previous work in Malay.[66] It will be seen in the following chapter that evidence from the last years of the Ratu's life shows that she continued to play a role as a major religious *littérateur*. Although she was the mother of the crown prince who became Amangkurat IV, it was clear that she preferred her younger sons, Pngs. Blitar and Purbaya. They would lead a rebellion at the start of their brother's reign in which religious identities were prominent. Of "the proud Purbaya" it was said by the Europeans that he had "an excessive love . . . of Mohammedanism."[67]

If within the royal family there were pious Muslims, it was evidently true that the dynasty's enemies still doubted its piety and Islamic identity. This may well have impelled the more committed *kraton* Muslims to seek opportunities to make the court's life and image more devoutly Islamic. The alliance with the VOC, however, presumably formed a constant stumbling block in the way of establishing the court as the proper pinnacle of an Islamic society.

In 1717, opposition to Kartasura, which had been growing in the east of the kingdom, erupted into a rebellion that, as the Europeans put it, the leaders sought "to cover over with the point of religion."[68] The leading

figures in the subsequent Surabaya War (1717–23) were the lords of Surabaya and Madura. Cakraningrat III of Madura (r. 1707–18), a man in his early fifties, was regarded by the VOC as being "lazy, effeminate, and of a variable humor with haughty conceits," who spent most of the day in opium-induced slumber.[69] Three princely brothers of Surabaya would play the leading role in the fighting. Their elder brother, Jangrana II, had been murdered at Kartasura in 1709 upon the orders of the VOC envoy Govert Cnoll.[70] These Surabayan lords were of Balinese or Blambangan ancestry—the distinction being of little significance, given Balinese influence in and rule over Blambangan in the seventeenth century. This probably facilitated contact with Hindu Balinese forces who were both to play a significant role in the fighting and to precipitate the most fully described conflict over religious identity from this period of Javanese history. The eldest of the surviving Surabayan brothers, Ky. A. Jayapuspita, was in his mid-forties and rather on the "refined and religious side," in the VOC's opinion. His younger brother Ng. Jangrana III was in his early forties and "more resolute and upright." The youngest of these three was Ky. Panji Surengrana, then in his early thirties, who was reportedly "freer of humor."[71] It was he who initiated hostilities.

Panji Surengrana sent two thousand men to attack Grĕsik in August 1717. The leader of this force was clad in a "white tunic on which diverse characters were written," presumably Arabic phrases used as *jimat* (amulets; Arabic *'azīma*). The VOC believed that the spiritual lord of Giri had encouraged Panji Surengrana to take this action. The VOC successfully persuaded this force to withdraw.[72] But a pattern had been revealed: this rebellion would consistently appeal to Islamic identity and justification for the devastation that was to follow.

When serious fighting commenced later in 1717, the VOC intervened on the side of the Mataram dynasty, but with little effect. The Surabayan rebels were well armed, and well commanded, with numerous soldiers. The VOC was no better armed, was poorly commanded, and had inadequate forces. Major towns in the kingdom's east fell easily into rebel hands. A foolhardy frontal assault in February 1718 by the VOC and Pakubuwana I's forces, totaling less than four thousand men, against the Surabayans' main defenses, manned by an estimated twelve thousand soldiers, was repulsed. The VOC and royal army then settled into the tedious business of slowly pushing siege works forward. But by March 1718 the prospect of overpowering the rebels' works in Surabaya still seemed slim.[73]

When Kartasura reinforcements finally reached Surabaya in March 1718, the rebels wrote to the commander, the Sino-Javanese *pasisir* lord Ad. Jayaningrat. In the Dutch translation of this letter, the only version that survives, the rebels sent a greeting and the blessings of the Prophet and his Companions Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Ali to Jayaningrat. They then asked Jayaningrat, "Aren't you rather nauseated, or have you shown no aversion [to being] in the land of the infidels, or do you aim at the ruin of our faith?"[74] The original Javanese letter presumably referred to the Arabic concept of the *dār al-ḥarb*, "the land of war," the territory where there was no Islamic law and where holy war was justified, as opposed to the "land of Islam," the *dār al-Islām*.[75] The implication seems to have been that the VOC presence in Java—at least along the *Pasisir*, where Jayaningrat held authority as lord of Pĕkalongan—had rendered this area no longer part of *dār al-Islām*.

Around this time, Jayapuspita began to call himself Ad. Panatagama, "the regulator of the faith."[76] Using this title, he wrote a letter addressed to all coastal people of the Islamic faith. He admonished them all to bear the Almighty God and his Prophet Muḥammad in mind and assured them that the rebel side wished to do no injury to any Muslim.[77]

Babad Kraton, a source of courtly origin, also depicts the Surabayan rebels as having the support of devout Muslims. It describes the rebels marching into battle in 1718:

> Those who were in the center
> were all the religious folk [*kaum*],
> all dressed in white,
>
> the religious scholars [*ulama*]
> seven hundred in number.
> The preachers [*kĕtib*] looked
> like egrets calling out,
> each wearing a dagger at the side
> and bearing a lance,
> so as not to be tangled together.
> Ki Pangulu Akim [*ḥakīm*]
> was regarded as
> the commander of this
> war of religious students,
> with Pangulu Ambak Aji [or Kaji] at his side.[78]

Babad Kraton's reference to this as a "war of religious students" (*prang santri*) may be a scribal error for "holy war" (*prang sabil*), but it may also reveal a genuine commitment on the rebel side to the promotion of Islam through religious education. Citing former rebels as sources, a VOC account says that the Surabayans attempted to gather religious students together so as to establish a "training college [*queekschool*] for religious."[79] If this report is accurate, it may be the earliest known reference to the establishment of a *pĕsantren* (literally, "place of the *santri*"), later such a common feature of Javanese Islamic life.

Describing a later stage of the fighting, *Babad Kraton* depicts villagers and religious folk (*kaum*) from the mountains coming every day to join the rebels, repaying the goodness of their lord Jayapuspita. Again there is a clear emphasis on religious education.

> The reason that the villagers did this
> was the earlier doings of Ki Dipati [Jayapuspita].
> They were all summoned,
> those of the villages and the mountains
> and were tested whether they could pray
> and were free of [heathen] prophecies,
> and all manner of [pious] doings.
> They even received gifts [from him].
>
> They were all inclined to ritual prayer
> [*salat*, *ṣalāh*]
> and thus all the folk wished to pay
> with their lives,
> there in Surabaya
> and [they cried out] "Come on, in
> the name of God [*Bismilah,*
> *bismi-'llāh*],
> test the people who are practicing
> the *Kulhu*."[80]

The *Kulhu* is sūra 112 of the *Qur'ān*, a brief profession of faith. Arberry's translation gives it as

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
> Say: "He is God, One,
> God, the Everlasting Refuge,
> who has not begotten, and has not been begotten,
> and equal to Him is not any one."[81]

Issues of religious identity were, however, complicated on the rebel side by the involvement of Hindu Balinese allies. From the beginning of the Surabaya War, significant numbers of Balinese had come over to assist the Surabayans, led by senior Balinese princes. They had been invited by the rebels, said one of these princes in a letter to an Indonesian VOC officer, "to eradicate and to exterminate the Dutchmen who are at Sĕmarang and elsewhere on the coast of Java and at Kartasura."[82] They clearly shared the anti-European sentiments of the Surabayan rebels, but they could not share their Islamic identity.

Babad Kraton contains intriguing reports of conflict on the Surabayan side about alliance with the Hindu Balinese. It should be remembered that this chronicle is of *kraton* origin and therefore its account of the Surabayan side can only be secondhand at best. It is nonetheless worthy of attention. When Balinese forces arrived to support the Surabayans, says the *babad,* they were grandly welcomed by Panji Surengrana, but Jayapuspita sent no gifts. "He was not yet pleased in his heart, still wishing to set [only] soldiers of the [Islamic] religious people [*kaum*] to fight."[83]

After much further engineering work and several costly battles, the VOC and Kartasura forces launched a victorious assault on the Surabayans' main works on 21 October 1718.[84] Jayapuspita is depicted in *Babad Kraton* as calling the attackers "*kāfir* devils."[85] "Heh *kāfirs,*" he is said to have cried, "come on and use up all your ammunition!"[86] As Surabayan losses mounted, Jayapuspita's senior officers and women tried to dissuade him from taking a personal role in the fighting and urged him instead to retreat southward to join Panji Surengrana and the Balinese. Jayapuspita then reluctantly abandoned the citadel to the attackers.[87]

Panji Surengrana now urged Jayapuspita to join them south of the city, but Jayapuspita replied that he would prefer to die in Surabaya. As for joining with the Balinese, Jayapuspita responded that they should seek the opinions of all the soldiers and religious folk. Half of these responded that "it would not be accepted that this is holy war, for we would be accompanied by infidels." One of their number, however, argued forcefully, "Even if they are equally *kāfirs,* the Balinese are helpful *kāfirs,* but the Dutch are evil *kāfirs.*" Thereafter many urged Jayapuspita to withdraw, which in the end he did.[88] Intelligence reports reaching the VOC in the following months indicated that there were indeed conflicts between the Surabayans and the Balinese at their new

stronghold at Wanakrama, but it is not reported that these arose from religious differences.[89]

Evidently religious identity was therefore an issue of significance for the Surabayan rebels. The antagonism that they and the Balinese shared toward the Europeans and—it may safely be presumed—the cultural continuities between Javanese and Balinese cultures, along with possible ancestral links between the lords of Surabaya and the Balinese, meant that they could be natural allies. But identity for the Surabayans was evidently not primarily an ethnic matter (as we would now describe it). It did not matter, to judge from the passages in *Babad Kraton,* that Balinese and Javanese could be thought of as ethnically related. It was religious identity that counted, within which context Muslim Javanese and Hindu Balinese could hardly be thought to be cousins. Hence the necessity to create a new religious category: helpful *kāfirs,* to be distinguished from evil *kāfirs* such as the Company soldiers who supported the Mataram dynasty in Kartasura. It would not be surprising if, for their part, the *kraton*'s supporters dissented from the categories that the rebels employed. It may be a token of this that when *Babad Kraton* describes a later defeat of the Surabayans, it says that this was God's wish because "they had mixed with Balinese soldiers and thus were powerless in war."[90]

The VOC regarded itself as being in a hostile context in which the boundaries of loyalty and alliance were defined by religion. "All the Mohammedans are beginning to grow weary of the Dutch," they reported, "and hardly one among all of them is to be trusted."[91] The VOC was supporting the dynasty in Kartasura, but even there its garrison was nervous. The Company's senior commander on the *pasisir,* J. F. Gobius, sought to increase VOC forces at Kartasura (which also included Balinese) from three hundred to five hundred because of the presence there of untrustworthy elements, especially "Mohammedan clerics."[92] Those among the princes or courtiers who were friendly toward the Company, reported Gobius, "were constantly made suspect and hated among the commoners by malcontents and Islamic clerics, through the foulest inventions they can ever devise."[93]

The old ruler Pakubuwana I was by now rapidly failing, and much authority was in the hands of the queen, Ratu Pakubuwana. The Europeans seem to have been unaware of her devoutly religious character, as exemplified in the evidence considered in chapter 5. They knew, however, that rather than lending support to the succession of her son

the crown prince, she favored her son Prince Purbaya.[94] He had a large following and was described by the VOC as "the proud Purbaya" who had "an excessive zeal for Mohammedanism and thus a universal aversion to everything outside of it."[95] He was evidently a regular attendee at the mosque.[96]

The east of the empire was thus in rebellion and using Islamic appeals, while the court itself was in a shaky state and some members of the royal family were evidently hostile to the VOC presence, at least partly on religious grounds. It is therefore not surprising that princely rebellions broke out and coalesced with the existing warfare. In October 1718, one of the king's favorite sons by a secondary wife, Png. Dipanagara, rebelled and crossed over to enemy lines. This prince evidently had an interest in pre-Islamic Javanese literature and Hindu-Buddhist as well as Islamic religious thought. In 1716 he had copied out a text of an Old Javanese work on Śiva-Buddha mysticism entitled *Kakawin Dharmaśūnya*. After rebelling, he took titles that also had resonances both in pre-Islamic and in Islamic Javanese civilization. He called himself Paněmbahan Erucakra, a title for the messianic "just king" found in Javanese prophesies traditionally ascribed to Jayabaya, a real twelfth-century king who may in fact have had nothing to do with them. And he took Mataram royal titles. By the end of the year, he was with the rebels near Surabaya.[97]

As Pakubuwana I's reign neared its lamentable end, there occurred a bloody incident that may have hardened the view of devout Muslims that this was not a monarch whom they could support. An Arab from Ḥaḍramawt named Sayyid Maqallāwī had evidently been traveling around Java as a religious teacher for some years. At the time of the great annual celebration of the birth of the Prophet, Garĕbĕg Mulud, in February 1719, he arrived in Kartasura without the VOC pass that he should have had. With the cooperation of the Javanese, the VOC officer at the court tried to send him back to the coast under armed escort, but Maqallāwī escaped and took refuge in a small mosque. Pakubuwana I's troops surrounded the mosque, shots were exchanged and soon Maqallāwī and two of his servants lay dead.[98] While the VOC hierarchy was pleased at this outcome, it seems that at least some Javanese were not. *Babad ing Sangkala* reports,

> The destruction of Java now began,
> with the death of the Sayid, for he was shot

upon the wish of the king.
There were many who said
that they were shocked that he was killed.
Three days later
the king fell ill.[99]

Pakubuwana I did indeed fall seriously ill shortly thereafter. He died on 22 February 1719. The crown prince succeeded as Amangkurat IV (r. 1719–26) with the VOC's blessing. But it was well known that at the end of his days Pakubuwana I and Ratu Pakubuwana had preferred Prince Blitar over the crown prince.[100] It soon became clear that Blitar and his older brother Purbaya were also favored by many other courtiers and, in particular, by the religious establishment of the *kraton*.

On 24 June 1719 Png. Blitar and Png. Purbaya launched a coup attempt at Kartasura. The attackers were dressed in white and, said the VOC commandant at the court, when they were scattered by heavy VOC fire they were reassembled in the mosque by "the priests."[101] This VOC resistance surprised the rebels. They had evidently expected the Company to stand aside from the conflict. *Babad ing Sangkala* says that the Company had promised "not to disturb the will of the [royal] family and of the religious people [*kaum*] and of the *hajis*."[102] When the rebel attack was repulsed Blitar and Purbaya sought refuge in the Mataram district. With them went all the religious leaders of Kartasura and surrounding villages.[103] Among their followers were, not surprisingly, the people of Tĕmbayat. The rebels set up a *kraton* at a royal rest house and hunting lodge called Kartawinata. There Blitar was consecrated as rebel king with the title Sultan Ibnu Mustapa Pakubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdulrahman Sayidin Panatagama.[104] This was the first time that a member of the royal family had claimed the sultan title since the death of Sultan Agung over seventy years before.

The rebellion, now known as the Second Javanese War of Succession (1719–23), thus presented itself as a movement supported by devoutly Islamic leaders and sensibilities. VOC officers in Central Java reported that Islam was the spiritual core of the rebellion, which bound all the rebels together.[105] The VOC in Batavia wrote that "calumny and hate" toward the Dutch was "already greatly increased among the Mohammedans."[106] The Company regarded Amangkurat IV as "an emperor who had been deserted by all his people and had acquired virtually the whole of the Javanese world as his enemies."[107] He was

"hated by many," the Europeans reported, "and his affairs are undermined and secretly opposed by his own mother, the Ratu [Pakubuwana]."[108] The VOC and the king kept a close eye on Ratu Pakubuwana, lest she flee Kartasura and join her sons. Even though the Europeans had not realized her religious piety, they were aware that in mundane matters she had "abilities that are singular."[109]

When the Company and *kraton* forces attacked the rebels in the Mataram district in December 1719, they encountered stiff resistance from devout Muslims. The Surakarta Major *Babad* describes the scene in this way:

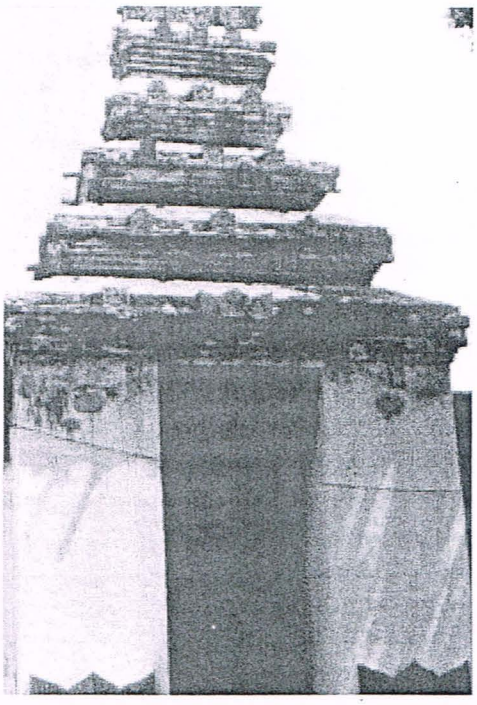
> The *ulama* [religious scholars] and *hajis*
> all wished to wage Holy War,
> the *kětibs* [lesser religious officials] and *modins* [mosque attendants];
> their leader in this affair was
> the Pangulu [chief religious officer] of Kartasura,
> following the two princes,
> Kyai Tangkilan
> seeking death in the path of God.[110]

In the ensuing battle, many rebels died. The *babad* comments,

> It was the wish of God
> that they should all be destroyed.
> Of the religious folk only a few remained,
> the rest dying in holy war against the
> *kāfirs* [infidels].[111]

The *pangulu* indeed died horrifically: he was captured alive, *krissed,* then while still alive hung upside down inside the rebel court, which was burned down around him.[112]

The campaigns of the Second Javanese War of Succession steadily wore down the rebel forces. Both sides suffered from the ravages of military action, bad weather, epidemic diseases, and marching through wild, unpopulated districts, but the VOC-*kraton* alliance eventually prevailed.[113] Early in 1721 the rebel princes attempted in vain to subvert the loyalty of senior Kartasura lords with appeals to their shared religious identity: "bear in mind the beneficence of the late Susuhunan [Pakubuwāna I] . . . and consider that you are of our religion."[114] But this was to no avail. By mid-1723 the rebel leaders had either



Entrance to grave of Senapati at Kuta Gĕdhe

surrendered or died. Pangeran Purbaya ended his days in exile near Batavia, but the other leaders were banished either to the Cape of Good Hope or to Sri Lanka.

The remaining years of Amangkurat IV's reign are of little interest. The ending of rebellion assisted him, but there is little to indicate that he received much respect or affection from his courtiers or his subjects. He appears to have received neither from his mother, Ratu Pakubuwana. But issues of religious identity do not appear to have been of much, or any, significance.

In February 1723 over a dozen Javanese dressed in white attempted to enter the *kraton*, evidently intending to kill the king. The VOC reported that these would-be assassins had been inspired by "unruly priests." The plot failed and the plotters were brutally executed.[115] A Javanese account that seems to refer to this same episode—although that is not certain given the chronological confusion that attends this period in the Surakarta Major *Babad*—raises the possibility that these were no more than gullible mountain villagers led by a lunatic who wished to become king himself.[116]

Top of the great staircase at Imagiri, with Sultan Agung's grave behind

In 1724 the king undertook a monthlong trip to dynastic holy sites in Mataram, accompanied by Ratu Pakubuwana, further dignitaries, a VOC escort, and an entourage probably numbering in the thousands. The king visited the site of his brothers' rebel *kraton,* Kartawinata (which he renamed Madegonda), while his mother evidently visited the graveyard where she would herself be laid to rest less than eight years later. The tour took in the graves of Senapati Ingalaga at Kutha Gĕdhe and those of Sultan Agung and other members of the dynasty at Imagiri, where none of his European guard were allowed to accompany the monarch. The king visited Guwa Langse, a cave on the south coast where the Goddess of the Southern Ocean is believed to appear. Lt. Hendrik Coster reported, "I could not find out what was to be seen there or what the emperor did there."[117] As the historian H. J. de Graaf pointed out, Coster's journal

makes no mention of the king attending a mosque on any Friday during this trip.[118] Dutch knowledge of such matters was of course superficial in the eighteenth century. One may confidently assume that Islamic prayers were said at all of the graves where the royal party visited, but this king does indeed seem to have displayed little diligence in his religious life. A Dutchman who had spent many years in Javanese circles, Simon Ceesjong, reported that in the later years of Amangkurat IV's life the great mosque of Kartasura had few visitors on a Friday.[119]

When Amangkurat IV died in 1726, probably assisted to his eternal reward by poison, the dynasty's Islamic identity was still open to question and had indeed been questioned violently by devoutly Islamic rebels in recent years.[120] At his death he left a legacy of dynastic alliance with the infidel VOC, much blood shed by religious leaders whose forces had been crushed by that alliance, and a grand mosque at his capital city with few visitors on a Friday. He also left behind, however, his elderly mother, Ratu Pakubuwana. With the demise of her little-loved son, the succession of her malleable grandson, and the return of peace to Central Java, the Ratu would at last have an opportunity to mobilize her great talents, influence, and piety to redress the Islamic life and character of the *kraton*. She would find strong support from others, who joined her in engineering a second courtly reconciliation of Islamic and Javanese identities.

Notes

[1] See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 69–83.

[2] Batavia to H.XVII, 30 Nov. 1684, in Coolhaas, *Gen. Miss.* IV, p. 711.

[3] Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, pp. 47, 78; see also p. 70. The German soldier Christoff Frike noted at about this time, however, that opium was widely used among the Javanese in Bantĕn; *Christoff Frikens Ost-Indianische Reisen und Krieges-dienste*, ed. Joachim Kirchner (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher Verlags-Gesellschaft [1926]), p. 63.

[4] "DR 1683," 21 July.

[5] For a general account of the Surapati episode, see Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 84–99.

[6] *BS* II:38.

[7] *BK* f. 424r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 85).

[8] *BK* f. 430r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 91). On the issue of Surapati's Islamic identity, see further Ann Kumar, ed. and transl., *Surapati, Man and Legend: A Study of Three Babad Traditions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 21, 55–56, 332–33, 352.

[9] Batavia to H.XVII, 13 December 1686, in dJ VIII, p. 25.

[10] "DR 1686," 5 June, 24 Dec.; Batavia to H.XVII, 13 Dec. 1686, in dJ VIII, p. 23;

Batavia to H.XVII, 28 Feb. 1687, in dJ VIII, pp. 36, 38, 40–42; "DR 1687," 19 Apr. See further J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Ahmad Shah ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century 'Holy War' in Indonesia," *JMBRAS* vol. 43, pt. 1 (1970), pp. 48–63.

[11] Batavia to H.XVII, 13 Dec. 1686, in dJ VIII, pp. 20, 23–24.

[12] *BS* II:39; Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641–1728* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 146, 148, 166.

[13] Batavia to H.XVII, 13 Mar. 1688, in Coolhaas, *Gen. Miss.* V, p. 171; Batavia to H.XVII, 27 Dec. 1688, in dJ VIII, p. 55; Keyts, report to GG, Batavia, 14 Feb. 1689, in VOC 1456 (OB 1689).

[14] Batavia to H.XVII, 13 Dec. 1686, in dJ VIII, pp. 24, 28–29.

[15] Ibid., pp. 31–32. On some of the VOC's defensive measures in its *pasisir* posts, see H. J. de Graaf, *De moord op Kapitein François Tack, 8 Febr. 1686* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1935), pp. 111–15.

[16] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 105–6.

[17] *BK* ff. 442r., 445v., 448r. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 104, 108, 111).

[18] See n. 24 below.

[19] Batavia to H.XVII, 27 Dec. 1688, in dJ VIII, p. 56; Batavia to H. XVII, 30 Dec. 1689, in dJ VIII, p. 63. On Aurangzeb, see Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* vol. I, pp. 768–69; John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India,* pt. I, vol. 5: *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 171–75. See also Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 237–39, on increasing Hindu-Muslim conflicts there that were legitimized as holy war in the later seventeenth century.

[20] "DR 1687," 20 Dec.

[21] *BS* III:13.

[22] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 102.

[23] Ibid., pp. 114–28.

[24] The presence of the Sarip (*sharīf*) was mentioned in a letter from AR III (dd. 12 Rabingulakir Jimawal 1629 [4 Aug. 1705] in Sĕmarang to Batavia, 12 Aug. 1705, in dJ VIII, pp. 248–9 and in Png. Pugĕr, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 5 May 1704, in VOC 1695 (OB 1705); it is also recorded in *BK* f. 505r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 180) where he is described as a noble (*priyayi*) from Arabia who was AR II's *guru*. In the Indonesian archipelago, the term *sharīf* was usually used for a descendant of the Prophet through his grandson Ḥasan; see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese,* transl. A. W. S. O'Sullivan (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906), vol. I, pp. 153–54.

[25] Jĕpara to Batavia, 14 Nov. 1703, in dJ VIII, p. 101n.; AR III, Kartasura, to GG, Batavia, rec'd 3 Dec. 1703, in VOC 1680 (OB 1704); Batavia to H.XVII, 1 Dec. 1703, in dJ VIII, p. 101.

[26] *BK* ff. 498r.-499r., 500v. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 172–73, 175).

[27] Cnoll, Smarang, to Batavia, 22 May 1708, in VOC 1764 (OB 1709), reporting that she was Nyai Tĕngah, "geboortig van de goenong of berg Lawoe, een priesters doghter uyt het dorp Lapoera, gelegen in de Mattaram en een concubine van den pangerang Pouger." Cnoll's first report on the matter was in idem, 3 Sept. 1704, in VOC 1695 (OB 1705), where he described the mother as a concubine named "Niay Kinjee' (Nyai Kincih?) born at Mt Lawu to a commoner family. See further Padmasusastra, *Sajarah-dalĕm, pangiwa lan paněngĕn* (Samarang and Surabaya: G. C. T. van Dorp, 1902), p. 133, which says the mother was a wife of the second rank (*garwa pangrĕmbe*) named Mas Ayu Tejawati from Wotgaleh in Mataram. On

Lipura, see M. C. Ricklefs, "Dipanagara's early inspirational experience," *BKI* vol. 130, nos. 2–3 (1974), p. 247.

[28] *BK* f. 508r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 184); *BS* III:19; Padmasusastra, *Sajarah-dalĕm*, pp. 133–34.

[29] Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, p. 135.

[30] Ibid., pp. 131–41.

[31] *BS* III: 27.

[32] Suranata, Dĕmak, to Batavia, rec'd 11 July 1704; report by emissaries of Jangrana II of Surabaya to Batavia, under date 26 Aug. 1704; Jangrana II to Ram, Surabaya, 8 Rabingulakir Ehe [1628/10 Aug. 1704], rec'd Batavia 4 Sept. 1704; Rĕksanagara, Tĕgal, to Batavia, rec'd 14 Oct. 1704; Jangrana II, Surabaya, to Batavia, rec'd 15 Oct. 1704; Naladika, Grĕsik, to Batavia, rec'd 15 Oct. 1704; all in VOC 1695 (OB 1705).

[33] Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, pp. 119–20.

[34] Ibid., pp. 131–32.

[35] Ibid., p. 133.

[36] Ibid. pp. 143–45.

[37] Ibid., pp. 145, 337 n. 89.

[38] The original Javanese letter is lost and the text survives only in a contemporaneous Dutch translation, which is printed in A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, "De vermoording van de Regent van Soemenep (25 Augustus 1707)," *BKI* vol. 72 (1916), pp. 584–85. The letters were written in Javanese, employing Arabic (*pegon*) script.

[39] The Dutch translation says "Moallam," which should perhaps be read as Mualam, but given the precedent of Sultan Agung's title of Sultan Muhammad Maulana Matarani, I am inclined to assume Maulana is what the Javanese original said. Cf. also the title ascribed to the rebel Png. Blitar in 1719: Sultan Ibnu Mustapa Pakubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdulrahman Sayidin Panatagama; *BTJ(BP)* vol. XIX, p. 53.

[40] The Dutch translation says "in de mond Hadje," which must mean Dhū'l-Ḥijja, the twelfth month of the Arabic calendar and the month of the *ḥajj*.

[41] Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, pp. 145–46.

[42] Ibid., pp. 148–49. On the return of the *pusakas*, see Ricklefs, *Seen and unseen worlds*, pp. 194–98.

[43] At this time, Danurĕja was still named Cakrajaya.

[44] *BK* f. 581r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 270). Essentially the same text is to be found in *BTJ (BP)* vol. XVIII, pp. 27–28.

[45] Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, pp. 149–50.

[46] Cnoll, in camp at R. Landeyan, to Batavia, 24 July 1708, in dJ VIII, p. 329.

[47] Wiranagara, [Malang], to Wiraguna, [Surabaya], rec'd Batavia 2 Sept. 1708, in VOC 1764 (OB 1709). The Javanese original is lost; this translation rests upon the Dutch version done at the time, which may well contain inaccuracies.

[48] Cnoll, Surabaya, to Batavia, 27 Aug. 1708; Cnoll, camp south of Kĕdhiri, to Batavia, 15 Sept. 1708; both in VOC 1764 (OB 1709). Cnoll was, as I have put it elsewhere, "one of the nastier figures of VOC history in this period'; see my *War, culture and economy*, p. 329 n. 38, and the various indexed references to Cnoll elsewhere in the book.

[49] Cnoll et al., "Arara Pielau" [near Malang?], to Batavia, 30 Oct. 1708, in VOC 1764 (OB 1709); Cnoll et al., Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 26 Mar. 1709, in VOC 1780 (OB 1710); *BS* III:58.

[50] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, p. 150.

[51] See ibid., pp. 152–64.

[52] *BS* IV:7–8. These events are also reported in *BK* f. 591 r. (published ed: vol. II, p. 279).

[53] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 21 Sept. 1715, in VOC 1871 (OB 1716).

[54] *Qur'ān* 48:27. See the translation in Ahmad Ali (transl.), *al-Qur'ān: A Contemporary Translation*, 2nd ed. (Karachi: Akrash Publishing, 1986), p. 442. See also Arthur J. Arberry, transl., *The Koran Interpreted* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), vol. II, p. 229.

[55] See *ḥadīth* from the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of al-Bukhārī (nos. 2785, 2786) and the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of Muslim b. Al-Hajjāj (no. 2989) in *al-Hadith Database* (London: Islamic Computing Centre).

[56] See *ḥadīths* from the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of al-Bukhārī (no. 3.42) and *Kitāb al-Sunan* of Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī (no. 1855) in *al-Hadith Database*.

[57] See the discussion in M. C. Ricklefs, "The Missing *Pusakas* of Kartasura, 1705–37," in Sulastin Sutrisno et al. (eds.), *Bahasa-sastra-budaya: Ratna manikam untaian persembahan kepada Prof. Dr. P. J. Zoetmulder* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985), pp. 616–17.

[58] De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 260.

[59] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 6 Feb. 1716, in VOC 1886 (OB 1717).

[60] *BS* IV:9.

[61] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 6 Feb. 1716, in VOC 1886 (OB 1717).

[62] Batavia to H.XVII, 15 Jan. 1716, in Colhaas, *Gen. Miss.* VII, p. 211. See further Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 159, 163, 178, 182, 184, and other indexed references.

[63] De Wilde, Kartasura, to Batavia, 12 Sept. 1705, in dJ VIII, pp. 257–58.

[64] Van Arrewijne, Kartasura, to Batavia, 9 May 1719, in VOC 1929 (OB1720).

[65] The Javanese term is *ingkang ayasa;* for a discussion of this see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 31–35. At this time Ratu Pakubuwana was called R. M. Blitar.

[66] See ibid., pp. 35–36. For an account of the text (BG 613 in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta), see Poerbatjaraka, *Beschrijving der handschriften: Menak* (Bandoeng: A. C. Nix and Co., 1940), pp. 9–33.

[67] Batavia to H.XVII, 15 Jan. 1719, in dJ IX, p. 28.

[68] Gobius et al., Surabaya, to Batavia, 4 Nov. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719); see also Gobius, Surabaya, to Batavia, 16 Apr. 1718, in ibid.

[69] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 11 Mar. 1717; Gobius, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 13 Nov. 1717; both in VOC 1898 (OB 1718).

[70] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, 153–54.

[71] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 13 Nov. 1717, in VOC 1898 (OB 1718); Gobius and Bergman, Memorie for Paijsen, Surabaya, 4 Nov. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).

[72] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 12 Aug. 1717, in VOC 1898 (OB 1718).

[73] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 169–73.

[74] Jayapuspita and Surengrana to Jayadiningrat, [Surabaya], 25 Mar. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).

[75] See Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II, p. 126.

[76] Gobius, Surabaya, to Batavia, 16 April 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).

[77] Jayapuspita or Panatagama, Surabaya, to all coastal people who adhere to Islam, rec'd [Batavia] 27 April 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).

[78] *BK* f. 601r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 290).
[79] Gobius and Bergman, Surabaya, to Batavia, 1 Oct. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).
[80] *BK* f. 610r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 300).
[81] Arberry, *Koran Interpreted,* vol. II, p. 353. See also Ali, *al-Qur'ān*, p. 559.
[82] Gusti Panji Danudrĕsta of Buleleng to Capt. "Daing Matara," Surabaya, rec'd Batavia 17 Nov. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).
[83] *BK* f. 611r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 300).
[84] See Ricklefs, *War, culture and economy*, pp. 177–78.
[85] *BK* f. 616r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 306).
[86] Ibid., f. 614v. (published ed. vol. II, p. 304).
[87] Ibid., ff. 613r.–616v. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 303–6).
[88] Ibid., ff. 616r.–617r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 307).
[89] Batavia to H.XVII, 6 Dec. 1718, in dJ IX, pp. 21–22; Peijsen, Surabaya, to Batavia, 30 Dec. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719); Batavia to H.XVII, 15 Jan. 1719, in dJ IX, pp. 29–30.
[90] *BK* f. 620r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 310).
[91] Batavia to H.XVII, 6 Dec. 1718, in dJ IX, p. 22.
[92] Gobius, Surabaya, to Batavia, 3 Sept. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719). Gobius was a man of dubious ability. See the indexed references to him in Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*. In Sept. 1718 the VOC fortress at Kartasura, which was only built to accommodate 200, held 283 European and 60 Balinese soldiers; Arrewijne and Walling, Kartasura, to Batavia, 24 Sept. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).
[93] Gobius, Kartasura, to Batavia, 21 Dec. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).
[94] Walling, Memorie for van Arrewijne, Sĕmarang, 5 Oct. 1718; van Arrewijne, Kartasura, to Gobius, Surabaya, 13 Oct. 1718; both in VOC 1914 (OB 1719).
[95] Batavia to H.XVII, 15 Jan. 1719, in dJ IX, p. 28.
[96] Gobius, Kartasura, to Batavia, 21 Dec. 1718, in VOC 1914 (OB1719).
[97] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 179–80.
[98] Ibid., pp. 182–83.
[99] *BS* IV:25.
[100] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 183–86.
[101] Van Arrewijne, Kartasura to Sĕmarang, 1 July 1719, in VOC 1929 (OB 1720).
[102] *BS* IV:27.
[103] Van Arrewijne, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 29 Aug. 1719, in VOC 1929 (OB 1720). See also Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 186–87.
[104] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XIX, p. 53. On variants of the titles, see further Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 371 n. 96.
[105] Gobius and Kervel, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 15 Jul. 1719, in VOC 1929 (OB 1720).
[106] Batavia to H.XVII, 30 Nov. 1719 in dJ IX, p. 47.
[107] Ibid., p. 54.
[108] Batavia to H. XVII, 26 Mar. 1720, in dJ IX, p. 65.
[109] Arrewijne, Kartasura, to Batavia, 29 Aug. 1719, in VOC 1929 (OB 1720); Batavia to H.XVII, 30 Nov. 1719, in dJ IX, p. 52.
[110] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XIX, p. 78.
[111] Ibid., vol. XX, p. 4. On this action, see further Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 193.

[112] Extract dagregister, 8 Dec.– 31 Dec. 1719, in VOC 1948 (OB 1721); Bergman and Gobius, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1720, in VOC 1948 (OB 1721); Ricklefs, *Tradition,* pp. 142–43 (Canto IV:37); *BTJ(BP)* vol. XX, p. 6.

[113] See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 193–201.

[114] Png. Blitar and Purbaya ("Sulthan Moehamad Abdul Rachman Sajidin Panatagama Mattaram" and "Panembahan Poeroboija Senapattij Ingalaga"), Malang, to Tg. Citrasoma et al., rec'd Batavia 3 April. 1721, in VOC 1965 (OB 1722).

[115] Kereeke, aanteekeninge 14 Jan.–8 Feb. 1723, in VOC 1984 (OB 1723) (under dates 2–3 Feb.).

[116] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXI, pp. 11–12; see also Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 388 n. 21.

[117] Coster's account of the royal tour is published and discussed in H. J. de Graaf, "De reis van Mangku-Rat IV naar Mataram," *TBG* vol. 83 (1949), pt. 4, pp. 340–69.

[118] Ibid., p. 354.

[119] Ceesjong, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 7 July 1726, in VOC 2056 (OB 1727).

[120] See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 218–20.

Chapter 5

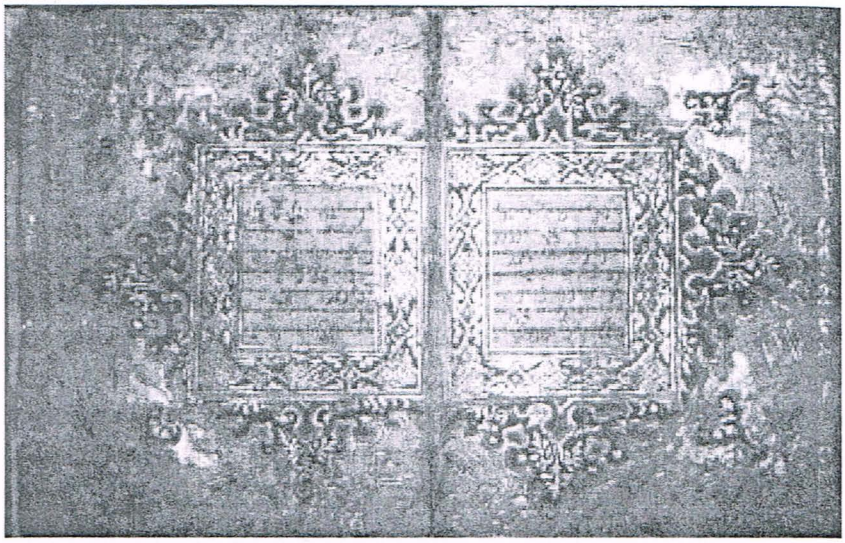
The Second Reconciliation

The Grandmother and the Ṣūfī King, 1726–49

Ratu Pakubuwana was already in her late sixties and completely blind when her grandson Pakubuwana II came to the throne in 1726.[1] She had been a powerful figure in the court at least since the usurpation of the throne by her husband, Pakubuwana I, in 1704. She was evidently a leading figure among the *kraton* literati—with a taste particularly for works inspired by Islam—as well as a pious Ṣūfī, a master of occult knowledge, a powerful political actor, and the grandmother of virtually the entire generation of young princes and princesses who now became the arbiters of the kingdom's affairs.[2]

Her grandson the king was young—just sixteen—and, as the historical record of his reign amply demonstrates, malleable and inconstant. While such weakness carried with it threats to the court's survival, it also gave Ratu Pakubuwana and her supporters an opportunity to mold the young monarch into a pious Ṣūfī king, which was apparently their answer to the kingdom's woes. As in the days of Sultan Agung a century before, there was again to be an attempt to assert the Islamic character of the dynasty, so as to place it at the pinnacle of Islamic Javanese society. This powerful Islamizing coterie in the *kraton* was not without its opponents, but in the years down to the early 1740s the Islamizers were the dominant force.

There were early signs of the court's more pious commitment. Barely a month after Pakubuwana II's formal inauguration, he had it announced that henceforth all inhabitants of Kartasura must be diligent in attending Friday worship at the mosque, unless they had lawful impediments to doing so. Those who were negligent in this regard would have their lodgings broken up and their cattle



Opening leaves of Ratu Pakubuwana's *Carita Iskandar*

confiscated.[3] In September 1728 a new Great Mosque was built at the court.[4]

The most dramatic Islamizing steps of the king's early years were taken by Ratu Pakubuwana in 1729–30. This grand old lady of the court was responsible for the production of new versions of the literary works associated with Sultan Agung's pilgrimage to Těmbayat in 1633, which were discussed above.[5] It seems clear that these books were believed to have supernatural powers that could perfect the reign of Pakubuwana II as the model Ṣūfī king. It was the Ratu's aspiration that, as Eaton observed with regard to the Indian state of Bijapur, the *kraton* should come "increasingly to conceive the kingdom as a Muslim state and to act in such a way as to realize this conception."[6]

The first of these works to be rewritten was *Carita Sultan Iskandar,* which was begun in September 1729.[7] In the Javanese calendar, the writing commenced on 6 Mulud AJ 1654, just before the great annual celebration at the court at the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (Garĕbĕg Mulud), as the centennial year of Sultan Agung's pilgrimage in AJ 1555 approached. The opening passage of the work makes clear what standing was assigned to Ratu Pakubuwana and what importance was ascribed to this book:[8]

There is a story most precious
set down upon Javanese paper
deriving from the Interpretation;[9]
already rendered into Javanese
by a person outstanding;
it is fitting that it be versified.
. . .

She who produced [*ingkang ayasa*][10] this precious tale
is Her Highness who is freed of
obligations,
Her Highness the Queen outstanding [Ratu Pakubuwana].
The distinctions of Her Highness
are both middling and outstanding.
She is outstanding
because of four things.

The first is
that she is beloved of the Most High [God].
And the second is that
she has already received the
intercession
of the Prophet, the Emissary,
the Chosen [Muḥammad].
As for the third,
she is watched over by the angels.

And the fourth is that
she has received the blessing of a holy
sage.
As for the middling quality of Her
Highness,
that is for four reasons.
The first is because
she is gentle in what she does.
Second is her justice

And the third
is her love of religious teachings.
As for the fourth,
she is in awe of her ancestors.
Therefore tranquil

is the life of Her Highness, the
Queen who is freed of obligations.

Therefore is she freed of obligations.
She was succeeded by her royal child
[Amangkurat IV],
down to her grandson the king
[Pakubuwana II].
. . .

[She] is still greatly honored
by her grandson the king,
and also by all her other grandchildren
of the royal family and descendants.
The officials
are in awe of Her Highness,
the Queen who is freed of obligations.

The reason that [she is] greatly
honored
by the officials of Kartasura,
from early times to the present,
Her Highness who is freed of
obligations,
is that she is without equal.
Indeed, Her Highness the Queen
is the amulet of the people of the
island of Java.

It is indeed Her Highness the
Queen
who produced [*ingkang ayasa*] this story
called Sultan Iskandar,
offered to her royal grandchild
[Pakubuwana II]
that it may become a *pusaka,*[11]
so that all the ancestors
may be taken as examples in the
future.

For Her Royal Highness the Queen,
day and night

her heart is thus:
I beseech God
and secondly God's Messenger
[Muḥammad]
for my grandchild the king
who governs all of the island of Java,

That he might long endure as king,
sovereign of the world, great in might,
in abundance governing his realm.
May he be beloved by God
and secondly by God's Messenger:
he who looks like the prophet Yusuf,[12]
my royal grandson.

May he care for me,
my royal grandson.
May his enemies be far away.
May his life be long.
Such now
is the prayer of Her Highness
for her royal grandson.

Those who write this ask forgiveness,
may they receive blessing,
the blessing of Her Highness
who is highly honored,
who brings the daylight,
who is honored day and night,
who forgives those who offend.

Ratu Pakubuwana's position in the *kraton* was reflected in these extravagant phrases. Here was a woman, claimed the MS, who was beloved of God and on whose behalf the Prophet had already interceded with God. She was watched over by angels and directed her powerful prayers for the longevity and greatness of Pakubuwana II. As was pointed out in the discussion of this work in chapter 2, the *Iskandar* MS went on to recount its origins in a Malay work turned into Javanese verse upon the orders of Pangeran Pĕkik of Surabaya and brought to Mataram in the time of Sultan Agung, presumably by Pĕkik and evidently in the year 1633. The reputation and authority of Sultan Agung were thus also

associated with this book. The MS is beautifully illuminated, unusually depicting living creatures in the form of stylized rice-field grasshoppers. These were the source of devastating attacks on crops, so their use suggests again that there were potent forces surrounding this work, although unfortunately there are inadequate grounds for more detailed interpretation of the illumination.[13]

When the old Ratu's scribes finished the *Iskandar* in late October 1729, they proceeded immediately to write out *Carita Yusuf*. As noted earlier, the longer *kraton* version of the *Yusuf* story that is found in Ratu Pakubuwana's MS seems also to go back to a version done in November 1633, around the time of Agung's pilgrimage to Tĕmbayat.[14] The 1729 version has the same unusual illumination and opens with the same praise of Ratu Pakubuwana as that found in her *Iskandar* MS, save minor variations. The scribes made even more clear in this *Yusuf* that their work in writing out the MS was spiritually potent:

> That which commences now
> is the *Carita Yusuf*
> superior, employed by Her Highness
> so that they may receive intercession
> [with God],
>
> those who copy the story
> exalted, the *Carita Yusuf*.
> . . .
>
> May they be accompanied by the All-Seeing [God],
> may they be made firm in their religion,
> may they be removed from evil
> and encounter the path of goodness,
> may they escape from all perils.[15]

Both the *Iskandar* and *Yusuf* MSS of 1729 are vehicles for uplifting tales of adventure, heroism, beauty, and piety. They are peppered with moral and mystical aphorisms. They would no doubt have encouraged the new king and his young courtiers to imagine themselves as beauteous universal heroes in the Islamic mode of Iskandar and Yusuf. The evident supernatural authority of these books would have encouraged Pakubuwana II to think of new wellsprings of spiritual potency waiting to be tapped by piety.

Ratu Pakubuwana's most extraordinary work, *Kitab Usulbiyah,* was begun in late December 1729.[16] This also appears to have derived from a version of 1633.[17] Among Ratu Pakubuwana's three principal books, *Usulbiyah* is the most originally Javanese in the sense of being less obviously linked to a Quranic foundation and not evidently from an earlier Malay version. It was noted in chapter 2 that an Islamic-Javanese cultural synthesis is suggested strikingly in this text by, inter alia, the depiction of Muḥammad wearing the golden crown of Majapahit, and of Jesus as a person who commanded the Arabic and Javanese languages.

The opening passage of Ratu Pakubuwana's *Usulbiyah* is briefer than those in her *Iskandar* or *Yusuf,* but it is even clearer about the spiritual potency of the book:[18]

> She who produced [*ingkang ayasa*][19] these precious
> tidings
> is Her Highness the Ratu [Pakubuwana] who is already
> freed of obligations,
> who is gentle in her life
> who is a servant with a blessed heart,
> who has received the love of the Most
> Holy,
> who has already received the
> intercession
> of the prophet Emissary (Muḥammad),
> who is watched over by the angels,
> Her Highness the Queen who is
> already liberated,
> whose heart prospers.
>
> The reason why Her Highness
> indeed
> produced the book *Usulbiyah*
> is her striving to make perfect the reign
> of her royal grandson [Pakubuwana II].
> For her sun, indeed,
> rests upon the mountain-tops,
> for she is already old
> and is nearing perfection.
> The reason she produced this precious
> book,
> is so that [she] may be perfected.

Thus the aging queen sought to complete her own progress to perfection and to make perfect the reign of Pakubuwana II through the production of this powerful book. It conveys lessons of Islamic morality and mysticism in the context of an adventure tale populated by many heroes of Islamic hagiography. Muḥammad is sent by God from heaven to earth, encounters Jesus, eventually is recognized as the senior of the two, and is installed as king in Medina.

Usulbiyah's final stanzas confirm how authoritative and supernaturally powerful this book was meant to be.[20] According to this text, God says the following:

> "Know what is truly
> the teaching of religion:
> it is called *Usulbiyah*.
> That is the clear message.
> Those who disbelieve it are infidels.
> Those who hold firm
> to the message of *Usulbiyah*
>
> "are true Muslims.
> If taken along
> on Holy War
> is the book called *Kitab Usulbiyah*,
> it will lead to victory in battle.
> If it is taken along,
> great citadels will fall.
>
> "Certainly they will submit, indeed:
> all the kings,
> infidels as well as Muslims.
> Now, *Kitab Usulbiyah*
> may not be sold.
> The head will be defiled of one
> who sells *Usulbiyah*
>
> "Certainly will be destroyed
> all that person does,
> all of it.
> If a person sells the *Qur'ān*
> it is the same as selling this *Kitab*.
> Such people are considered equals
> and their heads are defiled seven-fold.

"And destroyed is all,
everything they do.
They will not be wanted
and their devotion will not be accepted.
All their pious works will be destroyed,
destroyed by the Great God,
all of them."

. . .

Then spoke gently
the Lord Emissary, the chosen
[Muḥammad],
"Whosoever writes out
that which is called *Kitab Usulbiyah*,
great in its blessing power,
it is the same as if that person
were to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca,

"indeed, to go on the pilgrimage
a thousand times in a day.
It is the same as reciting
the *Qur'ān* most excellent
a thousand times over in a day
and a night.
These are the same.

"And one who keeps [this book]
in one's home
will be watched over by the All-
Disposing.
All the angels
will be commanded to watch over
(that person),
seven thousand seven hundred
will watch over:

"watched over day and night
by the angels,
far from bodily ills,
freed from witchcraft,
freed from evil spells,

far from misfortune,
untouched by adversity.

"Indeed, kept far away
are all those who do evil.
From God
is given endless mercy.
The blessing power of this story,
if one were to write it down,
would be most excellent.

"But inadequate is this writing material,
and this [Javanese] paper and ink.
All the world sees this.
The blessing power of this book is
greater
than the falling rain,
for greater is its mystical knowledge.
Even the rain is less.

"Let this be written down
upon palm-leaves
until all used up
are the palm-leaves of all the world;
nevertheless they would not be equal
to the abundance of mystical
knowledge.
Fewer are the sands of the sea.

"Make a count of them
and the sands of the sea will be less;
for greater is its blessing power.
The one who produced [*ingkang ayasa*][21] *Usulbiyah*,
that great person,
indeed will be increased
in nobility, in bearing the state.

"If [this book] is owned by an
infidel
that person will become a Muslim.
If one reads out
the story of *Usulbiyah*,

a vehement person will become patient,
a severe person
will become calm in speech.

"If truly fearful
is one who reads this out,
that one will be glorified.
As for the promise,
Usulbiyah says
it is heaven most high
which is promised, indeed.

"Constantly long for
that promise,
the promise of faith.
For there will be no departure
from what is said [here],
in the words of God the Exalted,
from this promise.

"An ignorant person who reads
God's words
will become a learned one,
indeed increased will be
the excellence of that person's
knowledge,
knowing the mystical science of
perfection.
For opened will be
the screen of the hidden,

"the screen of that which is
obscure.
[Behind] that screen
will be revealed the mystical
knowledge
which is subtle and exceedingly
perfect,
which is kept secret,
the perfect secret
which is from one's body."
. . .

If taken along to war
is the story of *Usulbiyah,*
one will be missed by weapons,
weapons will not strike.
Righteous will be all one's desires,
and one will encounter goodness
in this world and the hereafter,

shaded, indeed
by God the Most Holy
as if by a thousand umbrellas.
Perfect and great is [God's] mercy
[to such a person],
watched over by the angels:
all who watch over
are commanded by the Immaterial God

to watch over [this person] day
and night.
Through this blessing power
may [this person's] heart be opened
and may there be revealed
all the mystical knowledge of
perfection.
May [this person] be given to know
that mystical knowledge which is
secret and perfect.

It is perfection to know mystical
science,
For there is given
to such a person a spiritual body,
certainly.
Already revealed
is the true mystical knowledge of
perfection.
Yes, great is the blessing
of the message of *Usulbiyah*. . . .

Ratu Pakubuwana's *Kitab Usulbiyah* of 1729–30 was thus a book that claimed to contain the very words of God, which was equated with the *Qur'ān,* which had the power to ensure victory in battle, and the

writing of which was equivalent to performing the *ḥajj* or reciting the *Qur'ān* a thousand times. To keep the book was to be guarded by God and 7,700 angels who would ward off all evil, witchcraft, and other adversity. A *kāfir* who owned this book would become a Muslim. To read it out loud was to bring the reward of glory in heaven. An ignorant reader would become learned and would discover "the mystical science of perfection." "Yes," said the book, "great is the blessing of the message of *Usulbiyah,*" indeed greater than all the sands of the sea, the falling drops of rain or all the palm leaves in the world. This was clearly a thaumaturgical work, the power of which was meant to perfect the reign of Pakubuwana II. Whatever may be thought of its orthodoxy (which is certainly called into question by its claims to present God's own words and to be equivalent to the *Qur'ān*), it was inspired by and infused throughout with a sense of pious Islamic identity. There is, as one indication of this, no appearance by the Goddess of the Southern Ocean here. One may accept therefore that *Kitab Usulbiyah* was a powerful, magical tool in a campaign to Islamize the *kraton* more fully and thus to perfect it.

Ratu Pakubuwana was also responsible for the writing of other, more minor works in early 1730.[22] These, too, were inspired by Islamic themes and characters. Although these works cannot be connected to Sultan Agung's time in the way in which her *Iskandar, Yusuf,* and *Usulbiyah* can be, it is nonetheless possible that they also derived from century-old prototypes. They contained edifying lessons that, it may be supposed, were intended to shape the young monarch's thoughts and behavior in a pious Islamic direction.

The last work in the surviving collection of Ratu Pakubuwana's MSS is the version of *Suluk Garwa Kancana* discussed in chapter 2.[23] As was pointed our there, the statement that this poem was "from Susunan Ratu" suggests that it was from Sultan Agung himself. This was the most straightforwardly didactic of Ratu Pakubuwana's works. Here ideal kingship was depicted as a form of Ṣūfī devotion, in a synthesis of the martial traditions of Javanese kingship and ascetic Ṣūfī practice. The ruler was admonished to abandon sensual pleasures and become the ascetic Ṣūfī warrior king.

Other literary evidence suggests that the early 1730s were a time when religious matters engaged the court's attention. *Sĕrat Cabolek* is a work that now survives only in nineteenth-century or later versions, but there are grounds for thinking that it tells of a genuine religious

controversy in Kartasura c. 1731.[24] It is the only such book in Javanese literature. In this tale, a *pasisir* religious figure called Kyai Haji Amad Mutamakin is said to have "revealed secret knowledge' to the uninitiated, "disclosing the essence of the mystical science of Reality [*ḥaq*] . . . but rejecting the stage of the law [*sharī'a*]."[25] Other '*ulamā*' objected and demanded that Mutamakin be tried before the king.

This controversy obliged the young Pakubuwana II to confront issues of religious belief and practice for which he seems not yet to have been well prepared. According to the text, he puzzled over the way in which pre-Islamic works such as *Bima Suci* (or *Dewa Ruci*) were cited by supposedly devout Muslims. His brother-in-law R. Dĕmang Urawan, who was a member of the Islamizing party at court, reassured him that "this is not condemned regarding the essence of the mystical science of Reality," for the saints of God (*waliyolah*, Arabic *walī Allāh*) used examples to reveal their doctrines.[26]

Sĕrat Cabolek interestingly addresses the relationship between devout Ṣūfī Islam and Java's rich pre-Islamic cultural heritage. Mutamakin's principal opponent, Kĕtib Anom of Kudus, is said to have tackled Mutamakin in doctrinal debate, in the course of which Kĕtib Anom said to his opponent,[27]

> "Don't cry out in defeat, Mutamakin.
> If you've not yet finished
> your tune, my boy,
> in debate with me,
> I'll wait for you: return again to Arabia.
> And ship all the books!
>
> "Yet the sense of the *kawi*[28] books
> *Bima Suci* and *Arjunawiwāha*,
> which contain many allusions,
> exhausts the essence of mystical
> knowledge [*ngelmu*, Arabic *'ilm*],
> if the interpreter is precise.
> Just like the *kawi Rāmāyaṇa*,
> these are [works of] Islamic mysticism [*tĕsawup*, Arabic *taṣawwuf*].
> Old Cabolek, take a wagon
> and collect *kawi* works from [all over]

the land of Java;
I'll wait as many days [as necessary]."[29]

Javanese Sufism was eclectic and catholic, absorbing ideas from non-Islamic sources such as, here, Old Javanese Hindu-Buddhist works. The modern enquirer should not be distracted by the issue of orthodoxy, which, as was noted above, arises even in a work such as *Usulbiyah,* which so clearly expresses its Islamic inspiration. Rather, the issue here is primarily one of identity. When Kětib Anom suggested that Mutamakin could ship all the books he liked from Arabia without purpose, for the essence of Sufism was to be learned from *Bima Suci, Arjunawiwāha,* and *Rāmāyaṇa,* he did not assert the superiority of Old Javanese Hindu-Buddhist thought over Islamic ideas. Instead, as *Cabolek* explicitly says, he claimed that in the hands of a suitably qualified interpreter these Old Javanese sources were works of Islamic mysticism. There was no choice between religious or cultural loyalties being made here. Pre-Islamic thought and literature were instead incorporated into Javanese Islamic civilization. Islam was the prevailing religious category in the mind of Kětib Anom.[30]

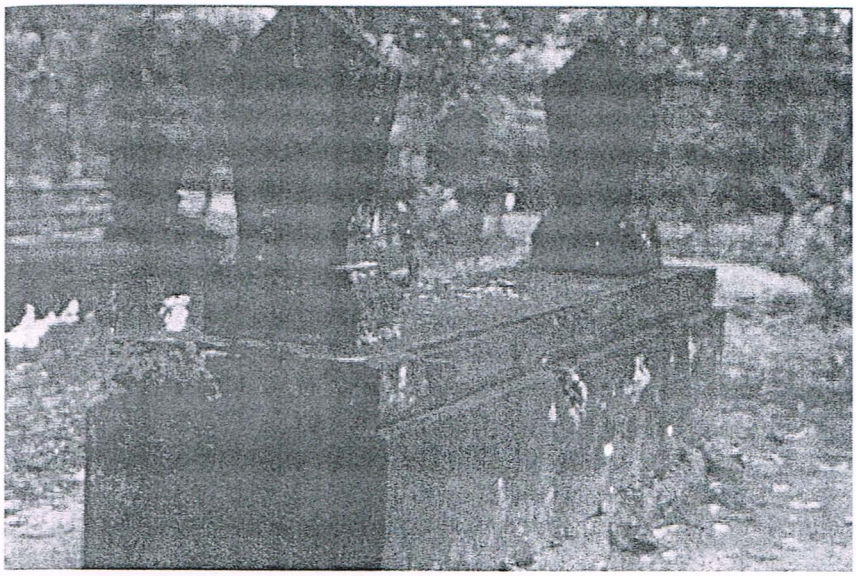
When the encounter between Mutamakin and Kětib Anom was reported to the king, says *Cabolek,* it aroused royal interest in the book *Bima Suci,* the interpretation of which had been in dispute between the two. The search for a copy of this work among *kraton* connoisseurs of *kawi* literature led to Pakubuwana II's younger brother Prince Mangkubumi, then in his middle to late teens.[31] Mangkubumi was later to become the first ruler of Yogyakarta (1749–92), one of Java's greatest warrior kings, and the first monarch (other than rebel aspirants) since Sultan Agung to adopt the title of sultan.

The young Mangkubumi indeed had a copy of *Bima Suci,* but he was not to be found at the court. He was much given to ascetic exercises in the wilds of Java's mountains and was off having an extraordinary adventure that arose from such an expedition. At night, *Cabolek* says, he was attacked by the spirits of the tungro rice virus, a devastating disease known in Java as *mĕnthek* or *ama mĕnthek.*[32] As he battled this enemy, Mangkubumi recited to himself five sūras of the *Qur'ān* that he knew by heart and sought divine intercession.[33] Finally he defeated the *mĕnthek* king, who then submitted and was accepted as the prince's servant. This was allowable, said the *mĕnthek* king, because since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, some spirits had become Muslims.[34]

Grave of Ky.H. Amad Mutamakin at Kajen

The powers of the *Qur'ān* thus held the key to victory for this ascetic young prince of the occult. Mangkubumi returned to the court exhausted by this adventure.

The wayward Mutamakin was not in the end martyred for his inadequate grasp of sacred mystical truths or his improper revelation of secret doctrines to the uninitiated, according to *Sĕrat Cabolek*. Rather, he was granted a royal pardon and then invited to a final session with Mangkubumi, Kĕtib Anom, Urawan, and others. There *Arjunawiwāha* was sung by Mangkubumi and its mystical doctrine explicated by the group.[35] Mutamakin returned to his home area of Cabolek on the *pasisir*. He is buried at the nearby village of Kajen, today a place famed for its religious schools, where his grave is revered as that of a saint.[36] The historical problems surrounding the use of *Sĕrat Cabolek* as a source



Grave of Ratu Pakubuwana, Nitikan

are formidable. Yet it seems reasonable to accept that it originated as an account of a genuine religious controversy in Kartasura c. 1731 and that even in its surviving versions it remains a work of historical interest.

A generational change was under way, symbolized by the roles of the young elite in the *Cabolek* story. In January 1732 Ratu Pakubuwana died. She was buried in a simple unmarked grave at Nitikan (now within Yogyakarta) rather than at the royal graves of Imagiri. This seems a remarkably ordinary burial for a woman who was the wife, mother, and grandmother of reigning kings, who had been such a prominent political, religious, cultural, and supernatural actor, and who was the ancestor of all successive princes and kings of the Mataram line. It is probable that this burial site was a reflection of her religiosity and possibly of her wish to be laid to rest next to her beloved son Prince Blitar, the defeated rebel.[37] Her Islamizing task was taken up by others after her. Seven weeks after her death, Pakubuwana II's queen gave birth to a child who would survive the perils of infancy and eventually succeed as Pakubuwana III (r. 1749–88), another symbol of the passing of the old guard.[38]

Another sign of generational change was the king's decision to fire the long-serving Patih R. Tg. Danuréja. The latter had been at the center

of the kingdom's affairs since Pakubuwana I's usurpation of 1704–5. Late in 1732 Pakubuwana II told the VOC that he wanted to be rid of his old *patih*. When Danuréja traveled to the VOC headquarters at Sémarang to pay the court's annual dues of rice and cash in July 1733, he was arrested by the Company. He was subsequently sent into exile in Sri Lanka, where he died twelve years later.[39] While Danuréja had been one of the most powerful men—at times indubitably the most powerful man—in the court, he seems not to have shared the literary and Islamizing inspirations of Ratu Pakubuwana or the younger courtiers. It is noteworthy in this respect that when Danuréja's very considerable wealth was confiscated by the king, only two books were reported: a copy of the *Qur'ān* and an unidentified *kitab*.[40] Danuréja was undoubtedly a Muslim, and the VOC was worried about his repeated visits to gravesites, including that of his father at Wédhi, for fear that he could too easily consult with religious leaders there.[41] But he does not appear to have shared the revivalist instincts of other *kraton* figures.

A prominent member of this younger, devoutly Islamic, and literary elite was R. Dm. Urawan. He had lived in exile near Batavia with his father, the rebel Png. Purbaya, from 1723 until his father's death in 1726.[42] Then he and other family members returned to Kartasura. His fourteen-year-old sister, Ratu Kéncana, married Pakubuwana II at his accession and thereafter acted as a powerful influence in her brother's favor.[43] Urawan was feared by many, as *Sérat Cabolek* and the Surakarta Major *Babad* say.[44] But he was also knowledgeable in Islamic matters.[45] He seems to have been a significant patron of literature; MSS that he evidently owned include legal, didactic, lexicographic, romantic, and religious works in Old Javanese, Modern Javanese, and Arabic.[46]

The Europeans at the court acquired a great dislike of Urawan, and their reports reflect this. They were particularly offended by his homosexuality. This was a significant issue at the *kraton* in Pakubuwana II's time. Ratu Pakubuwana's works denounced homosexuality as a sin against God's law,[47] following Quranic denunciations.[48] *Babad Sangkala* criticizes the king for himself engaging in homosexuality in 1734.[49] Later the king punished his own brother, Prince Blitar, for homosexuality and brutally executed one of his lovers.[50] Nevertheless, Urawan remained influential at the court for a considerable time. In 1737 he was elevated to the status of a prince, given his late father's name, Purbaya, and placed in charge of the court's internal affairs.[51]

The influence of Urawan/Purbaya and others evidently ensured that

the Islamization of *kraton* life continued. Late in 1731 a royal decree banned any form of gambling for money at court, upon pain of death, but exceptions for cockfights were allowed.[52] In this, Pakubuwana II both adhered to Islamic norms and departed from them. Gambling (*qimār*) is consistently regarded as illegal in classical Islamic works, but with no grounds for granting exceptions for animal fights. Indeed, there is a specific Prophetic admonition not to set animals to fight each other. But the penalty for gambling did not normally include death.[53]

It may be noted that the somewhat idiosyncratic *kraton* interpretation of Islamic law, seen in a ban on gambling that nevertheless allowed cockfighting, also extended to the matter of intoxicants. Although teachings ascribed to Pakubuwana II in *Sĕrat wulang Pakubuwana II* include passages that denounce the use of opium, the court was favorably inclined toward the consumption of European wine, liquor, and beer.[54] For example, when the VOC governor of Sĕmarang, Bartholomeus Visscher, visited Kartasura in 1740,

> The Susuhunan—being in an especially good humor—asked whether the governor had brought plenty of beer, etc., with him, for he was inclined to propose a few toasts, and whether there was a large glass handy. Being informed yes, His Majesty desired that the glass should be filled, whereupon His Highness took the glass and drank a reasonable gulp from it to the health of His Excellency the Most Honorable Governor-General.[55]

There followed other toasts to the director-general, the Council of the Indies, Visscher and so on, amid considerable jollity.

Pakubuwana II evidently saw himself as leading his people to more punctilious observation of their religious duties, however much flexibility he may have brought to particular points of Islamic law. He took the unusual step of attending Friday worship at Kartasura's main mosque. There was already a tradition that once every eight years this was done by the king. The *Anno Javanico* calendar is divided into an eight-year cycle, each year identified with a letter of the Arabic alphabet: Alip (Arabic *alif*), Ehe (*hā'*), Jimawal (*jim awwal*), and so on. The months of the fifth year, Dal (*dāl*), are so arranged that the great annual celebration at court of the Prophet's birth, the Garĕbĕg Mulud Dal, always falls on Monday, 12 Mulud, since the Javanese believe that Muḥammad was born on a Monday, 12 Mulud, in a Dal year. On that occasion, it was traditional for the king to go personally with his senior officers to the

Great Mosque and there to eat a meal.[56] This ritual was carried out by Pakubuwana II at Garĕbĕg Mulud Dal in September 1730. He was accompanied by ten thousand pikemen and musketeers with multiple standards and flags flying and a quarter hour of cannon, musket, and grenade fire by way of salute.[57] But evidently it was not normal for the ruler to go to the Great Mosque at other times, his devotions presumably being carried out in more private circumstances within the *kraton*'s walls.

Sĕrat Cabolek contains a discussion of the king going to the public mosque. In this account, presumably set c. 1731, Pakubuwana II tells Urawan that he will attend public worship on the next Friday. Supposedly Danurĕja (not yet exiled at that time) gave thanks to God upon hearing this news.[58] There are, however, no extant Javanese or Dutch sources that report a royal visit to the Great Mosque (other than at Garĕbĕg Mulud Dal) taking place before 1732. Although the absence of evidence is a flimsy basis upon which to draw conclusions, one might reasonably expect that there would have been references to such an unusual event. Nor do the various *Cabolek* MSS that were consulted for this study describe the visit actually occurring. The royal intention is described but not its implementation.

Whatever may have been the outcome of the royal visit to the mosque mentioned in *Cabolek,* there is no doubt that the king actually did attend Friday worship at the Great Mosque on Friday, 18 July 1732. This was not in association with any special court festival and seems therefore to have been a rare and noteworthy occasion, a demonstration of the monarch's presence among his people in piety. The event is recorded in both Dutch and Javanese records. The VOC report of this event says this was the first time he had done this.[59]

The Islamizing clique at the *kraton* seems not to have been without opponents, or at least had colleagues who lacked their religious enthusiasm. Danurĕja was probably one such. After his exile, he was succeeded as *patih* by R. Ad. Natakusuma, who was among the Islamizers. The VOC described him as pious and stupid.[60] Another figure who had the king's ear was Tg. Tirtawiguna, who may have been an opponent of the Islamizing clique.[61] He was reputedly one of the greatest authors of eighteenth-century Java, with a long list of major works ascribed to him (all, it seems, unverifiably). Among that list was no work of conspicuously Islamic inspiration.[62] It is thus possible that the *kraton* conflicts in which Tirtawiguna was later to be involved may have had their roots partly in differing perceptions of the proper role of Ṣūfī piety in court life.

There is only little information about issues of piety and identity outside court circles at this time, but there are hints that the European presence fed Islamically defined xenophobia. In September and October 1733 a small group of men armed with pikes attacked and killed six VOC soldiers in Sĕmarang. Their leader was a Javanese "priest" called Modin Samad who claimed to come from a holy family and to be destined to become emperor of Java, which would be achieved by killing Europeans. They were captured and executed. Samad's body was burned to ashes and thrown into the Java Sea. The Europeans—often ignorant of the subtleties of the indigenous life around them—were unsure at the end whether the culprits had been Javanese or Bugis/Makasarese.[63]

In July 1735 a similar plot surfaced in Surabaya. A Javanese "priest" named Mangunjaya was a disciple of a "Mohammedan priest" on Mt. Sumeru called Susuhunan Ratu or Susuhunan Mahameru, whom the Javanese revered as a holy man. This again raises doubts about the degree to which the Europeans understood what they faced, for Mt. Sumeru was still the home of a revered Hindu priest known as Arya Sumeru.[64] Yet it is possible that both Hindu and Muslim holy men were found there. Mangunjaya plotted to kill the VOC in Surabaya but unwisely solicited the support of one of the Javanese governors of Surabaya, who reported the plot to the Europeans. The Company asked the governors to attack Mangunjaya, but they were at first reluctant on the grounds that they believed him to be invulnerable. The VOC assured them that this was not so, and most of the plotters were then massacred.[65]

Similarly, it is possible that a rising tide of Javanese murders of Chinese in 1736 had a religious aspect, although the surviving evidence is not sufficiently clear to conclude that was so. One Javanese who was held responsible for such murders, named Bapak Mabal, was reported by the Patih Natakusuma to have been a former official who, after suffering misfortunes, had taken up a religious life.[66] Mabal swore to the *kraton* Pangulu that he was innocent and was thereafter allowed to serve as a lowly mosque official at the court. This outraged the VOC, to no effect.[67]

An episode in 1737 suggests that Islamic law was employed for some offenses but that the *kraton* placed restrictions upon its application. A Bugis servant (or slave) of the lord of Sidayu, Tg. Tirtawijaya, had committed theft on several occasions and had been pardoned. He then stole ten Rijxdaalders, a substantial amount. Tirtawijaya had the man tortured, and his right hand was cut off in the mosque. Not long thereafter

he died. Islamic law, including the Shafi'i school that was dominant throughout Indonesia, prescribed the severing of the hand in the case of a first conviction for theft of goods over a certain minimum value. This is among the *ḥadd* punishments based upon Quranic injunctions, which thereby carry particular authority.[68] Natakusuma told the VOC that this punishment was indeed in accordance with Javanese law. It seems, however, that Kartasura did not permit such punishments to be implemented by regional officials, but rather only by the religious court at the capital. So Tirtawijaya was summoned to Kartasura and condemned for his actions. He was banished to the wilderness, where his wife and eldest son died the following year. Evidently Natakusuma had sought to persuade the king that Tirtawijaya was within his rights to carry out this punishment because the thief was his slave, but he failed to win the argument.[69]

When Natakusuma returned to Kartasura from an embassy to Batavia in 1735, he brought with him a religious leader named Kyai Haji Mataram. This man's origin is obscure. The title *kyai* suggests that he was Javanese, *haji* says that he had completed the *ḥajj* to Mecca, and the name *Mataram* suggests that he was from Central Java (or Lombok or Lampung, where also the toponym is found). He quickly became a revered figure at Kartasura and a close confidant of Natakusuma and Urawan. He was, said the VOC, appointed "first priest," which suggests that he became the most senior religious official at the court.[70] In 1737, again returning from a Batavia embassy, Natakusuma brought to court an Arab divine named Sayyid 'Alwi, whose name suggests that he was from the religious aristocracy of Ḥaḍramawt, claiming descent from the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain. He and Ky. H. Mataram shared authority over mosque affairs in the court, to the detriment of the previous *pangulu,* the chief mosque official at the *kraton*.[71] The king was reportedly much pleased with 'Alwi.[72] It was claimed (by one of 'Alwi's enemies) that Pakubuwana II called him his brother, ate with him and allowed him to wear slippers in the royal presence (both contrary to custom), and admitted both 'Alwi and Ky. H. Mataram to discussions of weighty matters.[73]

Sayyid 'Alwi and Ky. H. Mataram no doubt bolstered the Islamizing party at the *kraton* and for that reason were much suspected by the VOC. They do not, however, appear always to have been at one with each other. In May 1737 Pakubuwana II again attended Friday worship, according to *Babad Sangkala,* which seems clearly to be another royal

visit to the public Great Mosque. According to this succinct passage in the chronicle, Sayyid 'Alwi and Ky. H. Mataram nearly came into conflict with each other:

> In the year Je, the month Sura [AJ 1662/May 1737], His Highness took part in Friday worship. The trellis-work was dismantled and the [royal prayer-]enclosure renewed.[74] It was the Sayyid who was the leader (of the prayer). The royal command was that Ky. H. Mataram give the sermon.
>
> They did this in turns and it nearly came to conflict.[75]

Conflict and intrigue within *kraton* circles was not unusual, and there is no reason to expect religious leaders to have been immune to it. Much of the conflict in Kartasura in the later 1730s centered around Urawan, who was elevated and renamed Png. Purbaya in May 1737. Tirtawiguna in particular opposed him and denounced him to the VOC, as did the king's brother Png. Ng. Loringpasar. When Urawan/Purbaya's sister, the queen, died after giving birth to a stillborn child in April 1738, Urawan/Purbaya lost his most influential protector within the *kraton*. After several months of maneuvers and intrigues, in November Pakubuwana II turned him over to the VOC for exile to Sri Lanka.[76]

The fall of Urawan/Purbaya removed from the court one of the apparent leaders of the aristocratic Islamizing group. But it seems that a more self-consciously Islamic identity was by now well entrenched. The Patih Natakusuma supported it. Sayyid 'Alwi and Ky. H. Mataram clearly encouraged it. And it seems that the king was convinced. It needs to be remembered, however, that a firm commitment to Islam in the *kraton* of Kartasura was so conceived that it need not exclude the cultural heritage of the pre-Islamic past. It is clear that Old Javanese literature was patronized there. As Kĕtib Anom is supposed to have said, in the words ascribed to him by *Sĕrat Cabolek*, "The *kawi* books *Bima Suci* and *Arjunawiwāha* . . . , if the interpreter is precise, just like the *kawi Rāmāyaṇa*, . . . are [works of] Islamic mysticism."[77]

One of the court's concerns was to regain the holy royal *pusaka* (regalia) that had been carried away by Amangkurat III when his *kraton* was usurped by Pakubuwana I with the support of the VOC in 1705. These were sacred objects of various kinds, mostly weapons, that were given personal names and honorifics, were connected with major episodes of Javanese history, and were regarded as having supernatural

powers such that only the spiritual authority of a king could safely control them. Over sixty *pusakas* went missing from the *kraton* when Amangkurat III fled in 1705. They were not recovered when he surrendered in 1708; clearly most went with him into exile in Sri Lanka. There were several unsuccessful—indeed, both comical and politically embarrassing—attempts by the VOC to locate and return the *pusakas* to the kings of Kartasura.[78] In 1734 Amangkurat died in exile. His descendants were shipped back to Kartasura in 1737 and brought with them at least thirteen of the main *pusakas*. These they turned over to the king. This lent Pakubuwana II supernatural legitimacy of a kind his two predecessors had lacked.[79]

Royal legitimacy in Java was associated with displays of royal grandeur—the "cult of glory," as Moertono put it.[80] The grandest display of Pakubuwana II's reign took place in September and October 1739, when he undertook a massive royal progress to the dynasty's historic heartland in the district of Mataram.[81] The very embodiment of stylistic pluralism, on this occasion Pakubuwana II set off wearing Dutch dress of black velvet with gold braid, gloves of kid leather, hose, and shoes. He had a walking stick in his hand and on his head "a Malay cap with a massive gold crown," almost surely the golden crown of Majapahit, this being the last occasion when this heirloom is known to have been worn.[82] The ruler traveled in an ancient ivory buffalo cart with an armed entourage of 20,000 pikemen and 1,700 musketeers, divided into separate companies with their own colorful uniforms, bearing 150 silk banners and flags. Grandly caparisoned horses, a royal elephant, other buffalo carts with the dignitaries of the court, and closed conveyances for the women of the *kraton* went with the king. This grand company hunted wild animals driven into a game enclosure for the purpose (killing seven hundred animals in one hunt alone) and engaged in other entertainments.

The king also undertook acts of prayer and piety in Mataram. He visited the graves of the founders of the Mataram dynasty, Pan. Senapati Ingalaga (d. c.1601) and Pan. Seda ing Krapyak (d. 1613), at Kutha Gĕdhe. He visited the graves of Sultan Agung and other dynastic figures at Imagiri. And he paid obeisance at his grandmother Ratu Pakubuwana's grave at Nitikan. As has been observed elsewhere, it was at such sacred dynastic graves that the monarchy and Islam most powerfully intersected, where this world and the next met in their most potent royal conjunction.[83]

The prevailing *kraton* style of Ṣūfī piety, literary activity, and

accommodation of Java's older cultural heritage may have inspired Pakubuwana II to record his own teachings in Javanese verse. Unfortunately the oldest extant copies of *Sĕrat wulang Pakubuwana II* (The book of teachings of Pakubuwana II) are from a century after his reign, and there is no independent verification of the ascription to the king.[84] The contents of this work are consistent with the mystical Islamic style of his *kraton,* which accommodated older Javanese ideas. This is nicely captured in a metaphor of Arabic and Javanese literature as a person's right and left eyes.[85] The former is said to give a vision of God (for whom the Old Javanese/Sanskrit term *Suksma Jati* is used) while the latter provides a view of the (material) self. Both must be mastered if one is to make use of the lessons of the forebears.

> You absolutely must know
> the foundation of those who live.
> What is wrong with not knowing Arabic
> is that you know not the order of life,
> the life of the All-Disposing.
> In the future you will certainly die,
> for life certainly leads to death.
> If you die without having lived,
> without remembrance [of God], your
> life is fruitless. . . .
>
> What is wrong with not knowing Javanese
> is that your speech is confused and far
> from good.
> You know not the levels of the language,
> for a king, a warrior, a *bupati,*
> for a relative, for a holy *guru,*
> a lord and parents.
> The proper manner of speaking
> is founded upon Javanese literature.
> In the end, this is the means to know
> your [material] self. . . .
>
> So people in this world
> must not forget two matters:
> practice perfection in death
> and practice perfection in life.[86]

At one point, *Sĕrat wulang Pakubuwana II* quotes the *Qur'ān* in Arabic (written in Javanese script), but the quotation is faulty, suggesting that the royal author (if the ascription is correct) or some subsequent scribe had an imperfect command of the language. The quote is from sūra 99, *al-Zilzāl,* concerning the Day of Judgment: "Whoso has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."[87]

Whatever the state of his piety, by 1739 Pakubuwana II's court was in an advanced state of disintegration. The elite's search for truth in the Ṣūfī path had not enabled it to avoid (indeed, may even have encouraged) the deadly factionalism commonly found in such regimes. Omens were seen. The VOC account of the 1739 progress to Mataram reported that on one Friday several whirlwinds were observed that were strong enough to remove roofs.[88] A Javanese account describes more disturbing phenomena during the royal progress: back in Kartasura blood appeared upon the doors of houses, and deformed fruits were seen. Moreover, there were rumors and prophecies that the descendants of Amangkurat III who had returned from exile in Sri Lanka would regain the throne from the usurping line of Pakubuwana I.[89]

As the *kraton* rattled toward disintegration, policy toward the VOC grew to be an issue of significance. Since the beginning of Pakubuwana II's reign, in the absence of warfare, the VOC had been largely peripheral to the matters of most significance for the *kraton*. Certainly the issues of religious identity that are of principal interest here were beyond the understanding of Europeans. In the late 1730s the Company believed that it could identify friendly figures among the court elite, notably Tirtawiguna, Loringpasar, and the king's mother, Ratu Amangkurat. It believed the anti-VOC party to be led by Natakusuma.[90] The extent to which Islamic sensibilities with regard to non-Muslims may have determined attitudes toward Europeans is not clear from the evidence. There was considerable overlap between the leaders of the Islamizing party as they appear in contemporary sources and the figures whom the VOC regarded as enemies, but this may reflect the Europeans' presumptions about views that should be ascribed to devout Muslims as much as those views themselves.

The *kraton*'s relations with the VOC were brought to the forefront of the attention of both sides by events that occurred nearly 500 kilometers from Kartasura. The VOC headquarters in Batavia—in fact, the whole of the VOC—was experiencing a time of great difficulty. Financial losses

were mounting, the Company hierarchy was crippled by corruption, plots, and intrigue, and Batavia itself had become a deadly place through the spread of malaria. Chinese were essential to Batavia's success from the beginning; indeed, Blussé calls it "a Chinese colonial town." On the eve of the dramatic events of 1740, within Batavia's walls and in the immediate surroundings of the town lived some fifteen thousand Chinese.[91] Through the 1730s relations worsened between the Chinese, on one hand, and the European minority and Indonesian majority, on the other. In October 1740 fears of a Chinese plot to attack the town precipitated a slaughter of Chinese in Batavia. Around ten thousand were murdered there over a period of three days. Surviving Chinese fled Batavia and joined with compatriots living along the *pasisir* to besiege VOC ports.[92]

The Chinese-VOC war that followed presented Pakubuwana II with the most difficult and dangerous choice of his reign. Javanese relations with the Chinese in this period were complex. While there was undoubtedly dislike of Chinese in some quarters[93] and the killings of Chinese in 1736 may have had a religio-ethnic aspect,[94] it is also true that Javanese-Chinese relations in this period appear to have been generally more amicable than they became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[95] Moreover, some of the Chinese now fighting the VOC were evidently Muslims, whereas the Europeans were indubitably non-Muslims. One of the main Chinese leaders bore the Malay title and name Cik (Ĕncik) Sapanjang. This Malay name must surely mean that he was a Muslim. Others bore similar names.[96] So the court now had to face a difficult choice: to join its traditional ally, the infidel Company, against the Chinese of whom at least some were Muslims, or to back the Chinese against the VOC. Just to complicate matters, the Company, too, had Indonesian troops who were Muslims, whom Javanese called *kumpĕni Islam*.[97] The answer to this dilemma was nowhere to be found in the works of Islamic mysticism that continued to be produced in *kraton* circles.[98]

The VOC was ill-prepared to face its Chinese opponents along the north coast of Java, especially when local Javanese supported the Chinese. In May 1741 the Chinese launched offensives against several VOC positions. They took the posts at Jĕpara and Rĕmbang but failed to take that at Tĕgal. The VOC withdrew its forces from Dĕmak. Its *pasisir* headquarters at Sĕmarang remained under siege. Down to the middle of 1741 it would have been reasonable to believe that the

At one point, *Sĕrat wulang Pakubuwana II* quotes the *Qur'ān* in Arabic (written in Javanese script), but the quotation is faulty, suggesting that the royal author (if the ascription is correct) or some subsequent scribe had an imperfect command of the language. The quote is from sūra 99, *al-Zilzāl*, concerning the Day of Judgment: "Whoso has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."[87]

Whatever the state of his piety, by 1739 Pakubuwana II's court was in an advanced state of disintegration. The elite's search for truth in the Ṣūfī path had not enabled it to avoid (indeed, may even have encouraged) the deadly factionalism commonly found in such regimes. Omens were seen. The VOC account of the 1739 progress to Mataram reported that on one Friday several whirlwinds were observed that were strong enough to remove roofs.[88] A Javanese account describes more disturbing phenomena during the royal progress: back in Kartasura blood appeared upon the doors of houses, and deformed fruits were seen. Moreover, there were rumors and prophecies that the descendants of Amangkurat III who had returned from exile in Sri Lanka would regain the throne from the usurping line of Pakubuwana I.[89]

As the *kraton* rattled toward disintegration, policy toward the VOC grew to be an issue of significance. Since the beginning of Pakubuwana II's reign, in the absence of warfare, the VOC had been largely peripheral to the matters of most significance for the *kraton*. Certainly the issues of religious identity that are of principal interest here were beyond the understanding of Europeans. In the late 1730s the Company believed that it could identify friendly figures among the court elite, notably Tirtawiguna, Loringpasar, and the king's mother, Ratu Amangkurat. It believed the anti-VOC party to be led by Natakusuma.[90] The extent to which Islamic sensibilities with regard to non-Muslims may have determined attitudes toward Europeans is not clear from the evidence. There was considerable overlap between the leaders of the Islamizing party as they appear in contemporary sources and the figures whom the VOC regarded as enemies, but this may reflect the Europeans' presumptions about views that should be ascribed to devout Muslims as much as those views themselves.

The *kraton*'s relations with the VOC were brought to the forefront of the attention of both sides by events that occurred nearly 500 kilometers from Kartasura. The VOC headquarters in Batavia—in fact, the whole of the VOC—was experiencing a time of great difficulty. Financial losses

were mounting, the Company hierarchy was crippled by corruption, plots, and intrigue, and Batavia itself had become a deadly place through the spread of malaria. Chinese were essential to Batavia's success from the beginning; indeed, Blussé calls it "a Chinese colonial town." On the eve of the dramatic events of 1740, within Batavia's walls and in the immediate surroundings of the town lived some fifteen thousand Chinese.[91] Through the 1730s relations worsened between the Chinese, on one hand, and the European minority and Indonesian majority, on the other. In October 1740 fears of a Chinese plot to attack the town precipitated a slaughter of Chinese in Batavia. Around ten thousand were murdered there over a period of three days. Surviving Chinese fled Batavia and joined with compatriots living along the *pasisir* to besiege VOC ports.[92]

The Chinese-VOC war that followed presented Pakubuwana II with the most difficult and dangerous choice of his reign. Javanese relations with the Chinese in this period were complex. While there was undoubtedly dislike of Chinese in some quarters[93] and the killings of Chinese in 1736 may have had a religio-ethnic aspect,[94] it is also true that Javanese-Chinese relations in this period appear to have been generally more amicable than they became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[95] Moreover, some of the Chinese now fighting the VOC were evidently Muslims, whereas the Europeans were indubitably non-Muslims. One of the main Chinese leaders bore the Malay title and name Cik (Ĕncik) Sapanjang. This Malay name must surely mean that he was a Muslim. Others bore similar names.[96] So the court now had to face a difficult choice: to join its traditional ally, the infidel Company, against the Chinese of whom at least some were Muslims, or to back the Chinese against the VOC. Just to complicate matters, the Company, too, had Indonesian troops who were Muslims, whom Javanese called *kumpĕni Islam*.[97] The answer to this dilemma was nowhere to be found in the works of Islamic mysticism that continued to be produced in *kraton* circles.[98]

The VOC was ill-prepared to face its Chinese opponents along the north coast of Java, especially when local Javanese supported the Chinese. In May 1741 the Chinese launched offensives against several VOC positions. They took the posts at Jĕpara and Rĕmbang but failed to take that at Tĕgal. The VOC withdrew its forces from Dĕmak. Its *pasisir* headquarters at Sĕmarang remained under siege. Down to the middle of 1741 it would have been reasonable to believe that the

Company might actually be expelled from the *pasisir*. Certainly Company officials were very concerned.[99]

The Surakarta Major *Babad* contains a lengthy account of the debate within the court about how to respond to these circumstances. The account coincides with VOC evidence at several points, but it also contains obvious anachronisms and is not to be taken entirely at face value.[100] It depicts two parties in the court. The Patih Natakusuma argued that the court should join with the Chinese to expel the VOC from Java, an approach to which the king was already inclined. The two principal coastal lords, Ad. Citrasoma and Ad. Jayaningrat (the latter himself had Chinese ancestry), argued that the court should wait until the VOC's position appeared desperate and then come to its aid, in return for which Kartasura should be freed of all its treaty obligations to the Company. Tirtawiguna stood aloof from this debate and is criticized in the *babad* for doing so. The wise counsel of the *pasisir* lords was not accepted by Pakubuwana II, who decided to support the Chinese and the Javanese who had already joined them.

On 20 July 1741 any lingering doubts about where the *kraton* stood in the VOC-Chinese war were dispelled when the Javanese attached the VOC fortress at Kartasura: the Ṣūfī king had chosen war against the infidels.[101] The VOC commandant at Kartasura, Johannes van Velsen, was a man of part Javanese ancestry himself who, it seems, had the capacity to cause offense to both Europeans and Javanese. His few friends at court were increasingly under threat. On 6 July 1741 three senior *pasisir* figures who were accused of passing secret information to the VOC were publicly executed upon the great square before the court; their heads were impaled for public display in the market and their bodies were thrown into the Pepe River, so they were even denied Islamic burial. Van Velsen was particularly reliant for information on courtiers who were opponents of the *patih*, notably the princes Loringpasar and Tĕpasana. The latter was a descendant of the exiled Amangkurat III, whose pretensions to the throne Pakubuwana II feared. He was killed in the *kraton* along with his younger brother in the night of 9–10 July 1741.

Van Velsen received several senior lords and their armed entourages within the VOC fortress on the morning of 20 July 1741. As they were having tea, the signal for the Javanese attack was given. In the ensuing melee, about eighty Javanese were killed, including several senior men. Van Velsen was seriously wounded but survived. About

thirty-five Europeans were killed, and others were wounded. One Dutch account said,

> One saw the fortress here strewn with bodies, both ours and the Javanese, and beyond that around forty seriously wounded, of whom it pleased God to allow none to die, and that supernaturally so to speak, for all medications were plundered.[102]

The VOC garrison succeeded in expelling the attacking Javanese, and the soldiers of the small Company post at the *kraton* itself succeeded in joining their compatriots within the fortress. In total, about 180 surviving VOC men in the fortress were now besieged by the Javanese for three weeks.

During the siege of the VOC post, messages were exchanged between the Javanese and Company sides that suggest that Islamic motivations were among the issues in Pakubuwana II's mind.[103] The Company's translator, named Nieuwenhuysen, was evidently unable to translate from or compose a letter in Javanese, so communications were difficult.[104] Nevertheless, messages as well as cannon fire were exchanged between the two sides. On 8 August a letter from the king promised the besieged Europeans that they would not be harmed if they surrendered and accepted conversion to Islam. The garrison's unanimous reply (so said the survivors) was that Almighty God should defend them and all Christians from such a thought. The following day the royal demand that the Europeans convert to Islam was repeated.[105] On 10 August, finally recognizing that they could no longer defend the fortress, escape from Kartasura or expect reinforcements from Sĕmarang, the garrison marched out to surrender to the Javanese.

The surrendered Europeans were distributed among various Javanese lords; their clothing and arms were confiscated, and they were dressed like Javanese commoners. A few were treated well; others were not. The bulk of the VOC became converts to Islam at a ceremony, which would have been associated with mass circumcision, carried out at the Great Mosque of Kartasura.[106] *Babad Kraton* says that they were circumcised, instructed in religion, and ordered to "change their Prophet."[107] Several senior VOC officers were required to pray daily in a mosque in the Islamic fashion, "sitting forward on the ground and raising up their tooters," under religious instruction by "priests" until midnight and "attending their fasts."[108] Van Velsen was killed. The

VOC translator seems to have had a particularly remarkable experience. According to the surviving surgeon, Aarnout Gerritsz—who was perhaps not the most reliable witness, and certainly not an unbiased one—Nieuwenhuysen (who may have been of mixed European-Javanese descent) was given almost complete liberty after the surrender and joined in plundering the fortress. It was then rumored among the captives that he had been made a court official with an entourage of one hundred men but that he had then fallen into disfavor with the king. He was taken to Mataram, there circumcised, and then murdered.[109]

Shortly after the surrender of the VOC, someone who appears to have moved in court circles wrote two books of Ṣūfī mysticism, *Kitab Daka* and *Kitab Fatahurrahman*. Their contents are not of particular significance. They teach doctrines that are familiar from other works of Javanese mysticism, such as the unity of lord (*gusti*) and subject (*kawula*) and the four-stage Ṣūfī path. The two books are of interest principally because the author notes the completion of the MS containing these works on a date equivalent to 14 August 1741, adding that this was "at the time of the Dutch-Javanese destruction."[110] This is a clear reference to the attack upon, siege and surrender of, and subsequent demolition of the Company's fortress in Kartasura. Perhaps these works were meant specifically to celebrate this great victory for the conquering king of the faith, Pakubuwana II.

As Kartasura forces marched northward to join the attack on Sĕmarang, says *Babad Kraton,* along went Ky. H. Mataram and "all the *ulama* and *hajis*."[111] Unfortunately for the king, he had chosen to commit himself to the anti-VOC cauṣe just as the Europeans were gathering the reinforcements they needed to break the siege of Sĕmarang. Meanwhile, in the east of Pakubuwana II's kingdom, the lord of Madura Cakraningrat IV (r. 1718–46) had committed himself firmly to the VOC side. His troops were sweeping across the king's domains, slaughtering Chinese as they went. In November 1741 VOC forces broke the siege of the company's headquarters at Sĕmarang and put their enemies to flight. Thereafter the VOC was able to reestablish itself in other coastal towns, while Cakraningrat IV continued his conquest of East Java.

It began to become clear to the *kraton* that it had made a terrible mistake in attacking the VOC. So feelers were put out, and delicate and mutually distrustful contacts were made. In December 1741 the king reassembled at Kartasura the survivors of the VOC garrison who had

been scattered in various villages. In January 1742 he allowed them to return to Sĕmarang. In March, a small VOC party led by Captain Joan Andries Baron van Hohendorff gingerly made its way to Kartasura as a sign of Kartasura-Company reconciliation. They were well received there.[112] Only eight months after Pakubuwana II had presided over the conquest and compulsory Islamization of the VOC garrison at the court, he was welcoming Europeans back. What now of this pious, conquering Ṣūfī king of holy war?

As news spread that the *kraton* was seeking reconciliation with the VOC, the anti-Company war acquired also the character of an anti-Pakubuwana II rebellion. It would be difficult to sort out separate strands of motivation among the Javanese and Chinese fighters: how much they were motivated by Islamic sensibilities, how much by ethnic, commercial or other personal animosities toward the Company, how much by contempt for a weak, vacillating king. In the fury of war and the heat of battle, such distinctions were irrelevant. But there can be no doubt that sixteen years of molding Pakubuwana II into the model Ṣūfī monarch and, more recently, into the leader of an anti-*kāfir* war looked like a failure when he received van Hohendorff at court. In early May 1742, the ruler wrote to the VOC governor-general and Council of the Indies in Batavia to thank them for sending van Hohendorff's group and expressing the wish that the Company and his kingdom should be united as before.[113] In June he surrendered his Patih Natakusuma to the VOC to be exiled. This removed the last senior Javanese figure from the court's inner circle who appears to have been a supporter of the Islamizing party. The two divines he had brought to Kartasura, Ky. H. Mataram and Sayyid 'Alwi, were still present, but their chief (or at least their original) aristocratic mentor was now gone.

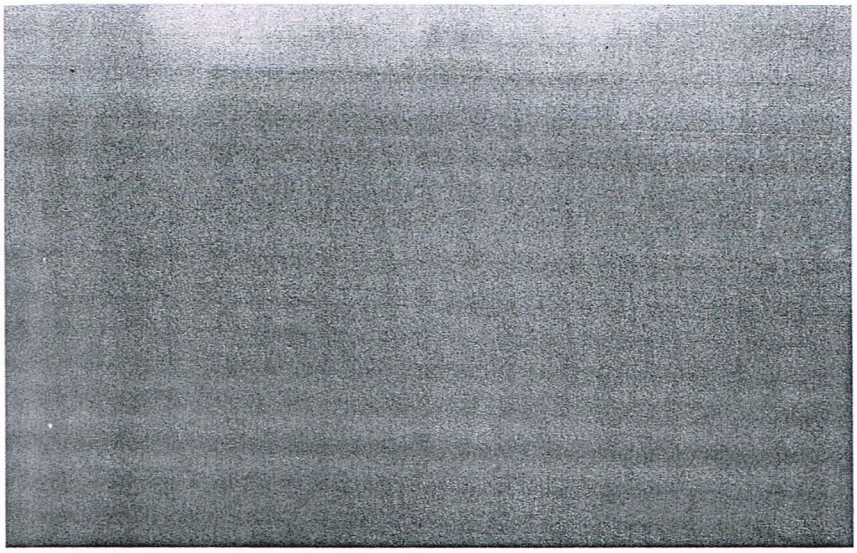
The rebels named a new king of their own, a twelve-year-old prince of the deposed line of Amangkurat III named Mas Garĕndi. Early in 1742 he was given the royal title Susuhunan Amangkurat, along with other grand epithets, but he was more commonly called Sunan Kuning.[114] The rebel forces became an even greater threat to Kartasura. Pakubuwana II was in increasingly difficult circumstances. While it was possible to maintain some communication with his renewed Company allies at Sĕmarang, the small European force at Kartasura itself was militarily insignificant. The VOC, with its hands full on the *pasisir*, could launch no major campaign toward Kartasura, the main rebel forces stood between Kartasura and Sĕmarang, and Cakraningrat's hostile army was

approaching Kartasura from the east. At the end of June 1742, Sunan Kuning's army advanced upon and captured Kartasura and put Pakubuwana II to flight in the company of van Hohendorff, who seems to have saved the king's life during their escape. The ten-year-old crown prince (later Pakubuwana III, r. 1749–88) escaped with them, but the king's brother Loringpasar, his mother, and the other women of the court fell into the far-from-gentle hands of the plundering conquerors.[115]

The king fled from his devastated court eastward toward Panaraga, where occurred episodes that raise serious questions about how deep Pakubuwana II's personal commitment to Islamic piety might ever have been. At first he was accompanied by van Hohendorff, who left an account of the flight, but after six weeks they parted ways and for the remainder of the five months during which the king was excluded from his *kraton*, only Javanese sources record his adventure. The principal source is the Surakarta Major *Babad*, the present version of which was begun in the reign of Pakubuwana IV (r. 1788–1820), then finished and recopied in Surakarta in 1836. It undoubtedly contains older passages, but it does not seem possible to establish the antiquity of the account of these darkest days of Pakubuwana II's reign.[116]

According to the *babad*, Pakubuwana II engaged in ascetic practices on Mt. Lawu, seeking divine succor and inspiration, when he encountered the spirit of Sunan Lawu. This is an indigenous spiritual figure, said in some sources to be the spirit of the last Hindu-Buddhist king of Majapahit, named Brawijaya, ousted from his throne by Islamic conquerors. At least in more recent times, the Sunan Lawu figure has distinctly non- or anti-Islamic overtones. Various taboos surround a visit to his domain which also apply to Ratu Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean. One is forbidden to speak the name of Allah there, but explicitly sexual and foul language is prescribed.[117] Mt. Lawu is also the site of two fifteenth-century Hindu temples, Candhi Cětha and Candhi Sukuh, which are famous for their explicitly sexual bas-reliefs. So an encounter with Sunan Lawu was an encounter with autochthonous spirit forces. It seems reasonably clear that Sunan Lawu was essentially a wind god, that his domain was associated with the powers of sexuality, and that, at least in recent times, he has been connected with non- or anti-Islamic sentiments.[118]

Sunan Lawu appeared to the king as a spirit of terrifying size, arriving in a gale, says the chronicle. This "king of the spirits" spoke to the wretched Pakubuwana II in a thundering voice:



Candhi Sukuh, shrouded in mist high on Mt. Lawu

"O, wretched king,
do not grieve so,
for your father [Sunan Lawu] will stand by you
in conquering Kartasura.
But you must marry, Your Highness.
Take my child as your wife,
a graceful maiden of beauty
named Ni Mas Ratu.
She will come in person
to you next Friday;
she will approach Your Highness."

Evidently the king was considerably dismayed at this but overcame his misgivings:

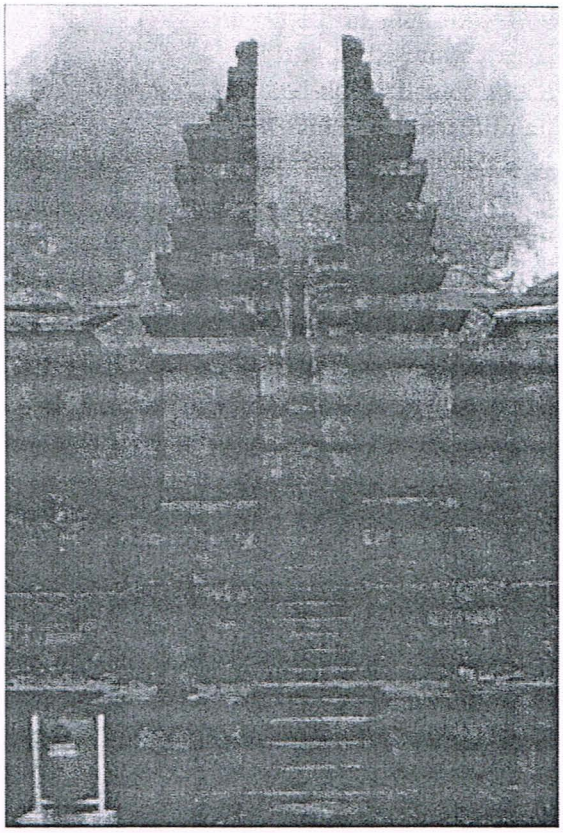
Now, when His Highness heard this
he sat staring before himself in
speechless amazement.

Within his heart spoke
His Highness,

Candhi Sukuh: depiction of penis entering vulva

"This is difficult, I think.
Is this the assistance of the All-
Disposing?
For it is a spirit which has come."
His Highness pondered in his heart:

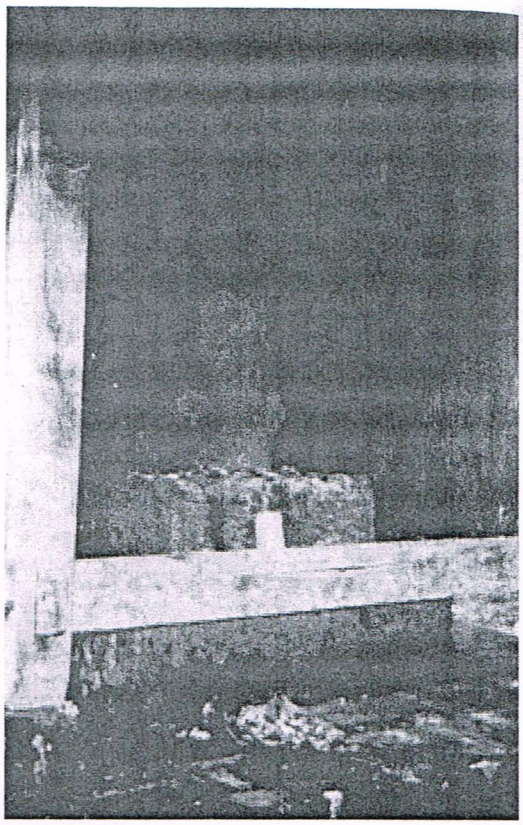
"Whoever is the means,
if it is the assistance of the All-Disposing
then there is nothing which is
forbidden
to serve as a means of [divine] grace.
The signs of the All-Governing God,
reach as far as the vault of the heavens."



Candhi Cĕtha, high on Mt. Lawu

His Highness spoke softly,
"If you are truly steadfast,
send your child
and I will make her my wife.
And stand by me in war:
let my warriors be victorious in battle."

Sunan Lawu said,
"O, Your Highness, fear not."
Sunan Lawu then disappeared
from before him. It was the early
dawn.[119]



Candhi Cětha: naturalistic *lingga* in stone

The following Friday, Sunan Lawu's spirit-princess daughter indeed came to Pakubuwana II, according to the *babad*. She offered her spirit warriors, who would ensure that in battle the eyes of the king's enemies would become "inflamed, swollen, and dim" so that they would lose the engagement. And when he was reinstalled in his kingdom, promised the princess, she and her spirit warriors would be in the woods by day but would come to guard the king at night.[120]

In his search for spiritual solace and power, it seems that Pakubuwana II was perhaps turning away from the devout Sufism that had previously been the dominant style of the *kraton*. Certainly he must have concluded that Ratu Pakubuwana's magical Islamic books had failed utterly to make his reign perfect and that holy war against infidels had only led to disaster. Was he instead—or also—seeking more indigenous non-Islamic

forces, or had he perhaps been converted to a faith in such forces by occult experiences that he believed to be real? It must be remembered that Kartasura *kraton* Sufism accommodated and domesticated much of Java's pre-Islamic high culture, but surely it would have been difficult to bring Sunan Lawu within the compass of Ratu Pakubuwana's style of piety. There are of course problems here in knowing whether the Sunan Lawu story in the *babad* was from Pakubuwana II's time in the wilderness or a later concoction of chroniclers. But it does at least seem plausible that this story was recorded at the time. If so, it is a key both to what the king believed and to what others believed about him.

Problems of evidence also surround another legend concerning this time, one that could be seen as exemplifying continuing Islamic piety on the part of the king. The famous *pĕsantren* (religious school) of Tĕgalsari, near Panaraga, is said to have been founded at around this time by a holy man named Ky. Agung Kasan (or Mohamad) Bĕsari, who had lived the life of a hermit at the foot of Mt. Wilis. Pakubuwana II is said to have turned to him for spiritual help and to have promised in return to make Tĕgalsari the cradle of Islam in his realm after he was restored to the throne. But the oldest source in which this story is found seems to be a publication of 1877.[121] The Surakarta Major *Babad* does not contain this tale, but rather tells of an indirect encounter between Pakubuwana II and a different hermit of Mt. Wilis named Ĕmbahan Sĕkondha, whose associations seem more pre-Islamic than Islamic.[122] It may be that the Kasan Bĕsari story is a later, Islamized version of the Ĕmbahan Sĕkondha story, but there is no obvious means of establishing whether that is so. It does seem, however, that the Tĕgalsari story should perhaps be regarded with some skepticism.

Pakubuwana II's military forces and those of his VOC allies did not retake Kartasura. Rather, that was done by the army of Cakraningrat IV, which expelled Sunan Kuning from the court at the end of November 1742 and proceeded to take its own turn at plundering it. The Madurese refused Pakubuwana II entry to his *kraton*. Not until 20 December 1742 did a VOC column reach the court from the coast. The next day the VOC escorted Pakubuwana II back to his devastated capital city.[123]

Sunan Kuning fled to Mataram and established a temporary *kraton* at Randhulawang, where a woman of his court attempted to revive the supernatural power of Ratu Pakubuwana's books. Nyai Mas Kaduwang, a lady from a *kraton* family of literati, wrote out a new version of the Ratu's *Kitab Usulbiyah*. At the end of her version, as the rebel court

awaited attack by forces supporting Pakubuwana II, Nyai Mas Kadawang made it clear that she was seeking supernatural support:[124]

This is the end of this book,
this book of Gospels. "Whoever
disbelieves the Gospels,"
says God the Holy One,

"whoever disbelieves will become an
infidel.[125]
Whosoever holds firm to the message,
for that person, a weapon will be *Kitab
Usulbiyah*.
If it is taken into battle,
there will be victory in battle.
The citadel will fall and be destroyed,
the enemy will be exterminated,
destroyed, gone.
If they do not submit, the enemy will die.
If you defeat them quickly,

"if you make haste to destroy the
infidels,
the destruction of the infidels will be easy
through the supernatural power [*sakti*]
of this book,
that is, the reciting of
Kitab Usulbiyah."
If it is read out,
how many thousands,
ten thousands, hundred thousands,
millions
are the sayings of God the Most Holy
[therein]:
all of you, hold firm!
. . .

This is the end of this book's meaning.
Let all the people of this world contemplate it,
male and female, all.
Whosoever reads or listens to it,
hold firm with a sincere heart.

Be not frivolous,
pay close attention to the teaching
and be fearful of chastisement;
take care and be cautious.
Pay honor, all of you.

If you do not believe this teaching,
this sentient world will come to an end,
mixed up after the hour of death.
There will be made
a void out of the firmament.
This has been told by God,
down to the Messenger,
the Emissary, the Final Prophet.
Let all of you pay obeisance to what
is written
in the story of *Usulbiyah*.

Whoever copies this book
is predetermined to approach [God][126]
and to be approached by the king;
that person will become a learned
scholar,
far from illness and affliction,
approaching all good fortune,
with well-being descending [upon that
person],
who will be an example . . . ,[127]
far from enemies, witchcraft that
causes plagues, and thieves,
freed of all. . . .[128]
. . .

When the writing of this work
was finished
it was Thursday at the time of an
eclipse,[129] on the date fourteen,
Paing the day of the five-day week
at the time of the afternoon prayer
was when it was written,
the month Rabiyulawal,
the year was counted as Ehe,

the *wuku* was Dhukut,
the *mangsa* was Kasapuluh, when
the Susunan [Kuning] was in
Randhulawang.

"At that time moved the world"
[AJ 1668/9 May 1743].[130]
It was difficult in the hard times of
Java.
The warriors and *bupatis* all
fled from the capital.
The king departed from within the
court.
Nyai Mas of Kaduwang
left the capital
and took refuge in Mataram,
staying west of the Praga River,
in the village Jatikamal.

[The text concludes in prose:]
This is the end. May they receive the love and grace of God, those who read this and write this and listen to this and keep this; may they be given [God's] reward. God knows best. Praise be to God.

Ratu Pakubuwana's books had failed in their aim of making Pakubuwana II's reign perfect, and Nyai Mas Kaduwang's similarly failed to protect Sunan Kuning. He was expelled from Randhulawang by VOC forces in June 1743, and he surrendered in October. One last small group sought to wage holy war against the VOC and Pakubuwana II in June 1743. One R. Pangulu launched a rebellion from Těmbayat, but his claim to magic powers offered no protection against the firearms of his opponents.[131]

In gratitude to the Company, which had saved him, and perhaps in recognition of how little triumph the Islamization of his *kraton* had brought him, Pakubuwana II turned Sayyid 'Alwi and Ky. H. Mataram over to the Dutch to be exiled in late 1743.[132] The last of the known Islamizers were thus removed from the *kraton*. The new *patih* was Tirtawiguna, now renamed R. Ad. Sindurĕja, who seems to have been a long-standing opponent of the Islamizing aristocrats. Pakubuwana II signed a treaty confirming his renewed alliance with the Company in November 1743.

The evidence for the remaining years of Pakubuwana II's reign is devoid of the Islamizing features seen before 1742. The king abandoned his ruined *kraton* of Kartasura and moved to his new court of Surakarta in early 1746. As will be seen in the following chapter, shortly thereafter his younger brother Png. Mangkubumi—he who, according to *Sĕrat Cabolek*, defeated the *mĕnthek* king by the power of memorized sūras of the *Qur'ān*—went into rebellion.[133] Thus began the Third Javanese War of Succession (1746–57). Among the princes who became involved in this war against the king of Surakarta was Mas Said, later Prince Mangkunĕgara I (r. 1757–95), one of the most devoutly Islamic figures of the later eighteenth century.

Pakubuwana II, probably the most unfortunate and foolish of Mataram dynasty kings, died in 1749 in his *kraton* of Surakarta, which then seemed close to conquest by his enemies, just as had happened to his old court. Upon his deathbed he signed over his children and his kingdom to the safekeeping of the only person he trusted, his savior of 1742, J. A. Baron van Hohendorff.[134] On 20 December 1749 died this onetime aspirant Ṣūfī king and now protégé of the VOC, not yet forty years of age.

The legacy of Pakubuwana II's reign would only become clear in subsequent years. Down to the early 1740s, there had been a major attempt to revive, repeat, and extend the reconciliation of Javanese and Islamic identity that had marked the reign of Sultan Agung a century before. The evidence suggests that this attempt had achieved much success, but that it had not won the universal support of the *kraton* elite. Pakubuwana II was, in mid-1741, a king who might superficially have looked rather like Agung: a pious, conquering Muslim king and enemy of the Christian unbelievers. But Pakubuwana II was no Sultan Agung, and the 1740s were not the 1630s. The Company was more firmly involved in Java's affairs by the eighteenth century, although that involvement was also pushing it toward bankruptcy. And Pakubuwana II displayed few of the strengths—nor indeed the brutality—that one associates with Sultan Agung. If Sultan Agung was the greatest of Java's kings, Pakubuwana II was perhaps the least.

Even if, in the final years, Pakubuwana II may have turned away from pious Sufism toward more local spiritual powers, the earlier effort at reconciliation of Islamic and Javanese cultures seems to have had an enduring impact. As will be seen in the following chapter, there are grounds for believing that a sense of Islamic identity was deeply rooted in the hearts of members of Java's elite. Pakubuwana II's own legacy

may have been one of failure and disaster, but Ratu Pakubuwana's seems to have been one of devotion to Islam that truly shaped the thinking of at least some of her descendants and admirers.

Notes

[1] She was reported to be about seventy-five at her death in January 1732; Coyett, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 28 Jan. 1732, in VOC 2204 (OB 1732). She was reported to be totally blind in Ceesjong, Kartasura, to Noodt, Sĕmarang, 6 Apr. 1726, in VOC 2056 (OB 1727).

[2] She figures prominently in my *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, and frequently appears in my *War, Culture and Economy*. For further information, see the indexed references in those works.

[3] Ceesjong, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 7 July 1726, in VOC 2056 (OB 1727).

[4] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXI, p. 38; *B. Sang.*, pp. 61–62.

[5] Pp. 43–47.

[6] Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 287.

[7] RP MS no. 262 carikan; discussed at greater length in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 40–53.

[8] RP MS no. 262 carikan, pp. 1–4. The Javanese text, an English translation, and a fuller discussion of complexities are to be found in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 40–45.

[9] *Tafsir* (Arabic *tafsīr*), meaning particularly interpretation concerning the *Qur'ān*.

[10] *Ingkang ayasa* means one who determined the contents of a work and was thus associated with its composition, but not necessarily one who actually wrote it out. For a fuller discussion of this term, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 31–36. In this case, given Ratu Pakubuwana's blindness, it is safe to think of her as sponsor or patron of these works, as the one who ordered that they should be done in a certain way.

[11] The Javanese is *wasiyat*, meaning a final testament as well as an item of heirloom regalia.

[12] The epitome of male beauty.

[13] Further discussion in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, p. 49.

[14] See p. 45 in this volume. The MS is RP MS no. 261 carikan. The MS is discussed at greater length in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 53–61.

[15] RP MS no. 261 carikan, p. 5. Javanese text, English translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 54–55.

[16] The MS is RP MS no. 263 carikan, more fully discussed in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 62–91.

[17] See pp. 45–46 in this volume or Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 63–64.

[18] RP MS no. 263 carikan, p. 1. Javanese text, English translation and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 62–63.

[19] See note 10 above.

[20] RP MS no. 263 carikan, pp. 42–45. Javanese text, English translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 81–88.

[21] See note 10 above.

[22] RP MS no. 263 carikan, pp. 45–60; see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 107–12.

[23] RP MS no. 263 carikan, pp. 60–61. See pp. 47–49 in this volume or, for a fuller discussion, Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 112–26.

[24] The work is discussed in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 127–62. An edition, translation, and commentary are in S. Soebardi, ed. and transl., *The Book of Cabolèk: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Notes; a Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition,* Bibliotheca Indonesica 10 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975). A published text is in [*Sĕrat Cabolek*] (Sĕmawis: Ge Se Te fan Doreĕp [G. C. T. van Dorp], 1885). For analysis of a work said to contain the teachings of Ahmad Mutamakin, see Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Perlawanan kultural agama rakyat: Pemikiran dan paham keagamaan Syekh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin dalam pergumulan Islam dan tradisi (1645–1740)* (Yogyakarta: KERiS and SAMHA, 2002).

[25] See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 141.

[26] *Cabolek* (1885), p. 14; see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 142–43; Soebardi, *Cabolek*, p. 73.

[27] The name is really more of a title, meaning "the young preacher," Arabic *khaṭīb.*

[28] *Kawi* encompasses what modern scholars of Javanese language and literature would classify both as Old Javanese and as Middle Javanese, in either case pre-Islamic in origin.

[29] *Cabolek* (1885), pp. 55–56; Soebardi, *Cabolek*, p. 114; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 149.

[30] For a fuller discussion of this and similar issues raised by this part of *Sĕrat Cabolek,* see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 149–52.

[31] His date of birth is not certain, but was evidently between 1709 and 1717, with 1717 being more probable. The evidence is discussed in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 130 n. 13.

[32] *Cabolek* (1885), pp. 81–91. See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 155–59.

[33] Sūras 27 *an-Naml*, 34 *Sabā'*, 36 *Yā Sīn*, 39 *az-Zumar,* and 112 *al-Ikhlās.*

[34] Sūra 55 *ar-Raḥmān* of the *Qur'ān* is addressed to spirits (*jinns*) as well as to humans. When seven *jinns* passed by the Prophet in prayer, they were converted to Islam. Sūra 72 *al-Jinn* was revealed at this time. See Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources* (London: Unwin, 1986), pp. 99–100. Cf. also the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says, "My *shayṭan* has become a Muslim"; discussed in Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions.* Other *ḥadīth* are noted in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 158 n. 119.

[35] *Cabolek* (1885), pp. 102–58; see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 160–61.

[36] Ml. Sanusi, *Mengenang perjuangan Syaikh K. H. Ahmad Mutamakkin dari masa ke masa,* 5th printing ([Kajen]: Himpunan Siswa Mathali'ul Falah, AH 1413 [AD 1992–93]).

[37] Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 6 Jan. 1732, in VOC 2204 (OB 1732). See further Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 30–31.

[38] Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 23 Feb. 1732, in VOC 2204 (OB 1732).

[39] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 168–70. On his earlier career, see Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy.*

[40] Translaat Javaanse notitie, rec'd Sĕmarang 11 Jul. 1733; translaat Javaanse nader en verbeterde notitie, rec'd Sĕmarang 13 Jul. 1733; translaat Javaanse lontar, Sĕmarang 9 Aug. 1733; all in VOC 2294 (OB 1734).

[41] Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, 21 Mar. 1733; Duyvensz,

Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 3 Apr. 1733; both in VOC 2294 (OB 1734).

[42] Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 200.

[43] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 5.

[44] Soebardi, *Cabolek,* p. 75; *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXI, pp. 73–74; ibid., vol. XXII, p. 3.

[45] Soebardi, *Cabolek,* p. 99.

[46] Berl. SB. MS Or. Fol. 402 and IOL Arab. 2446 (Loth. 1047); see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 200–5.

[47] See the references in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 69, 110.

[48] *Qur'ān* 7:80–81, 11:77–83, 15:59–77, 21:74; 26:165–68, 27:54–55, 29:28–34.

[49] *B. Sang.*, p. 75. Text and translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 137.

[50] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 222–23.

[51] *B. Sang,* p. 84.

[52] Coster, Kartasura, to Coyett, Sĕmarang, 6 Nov. 1731, in VOC 2203 (OB 1732); Batavia to H.XVII, 28 Dec. 1731, in Coolhaas, *Gen. Miss.* IX, p. 281.

[53] Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. V, pp. 108–10. It should be noted that the *kraton* also regularly offended the injunction against setting animals to fight in staging tiger-buffalo fights and tiger-sticking (*rampog macan*); for example, consult the indexes of Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds* and Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy.*

[54] See p. 127 in this volume.

[55] Baerenclouw, dagregister 5 July–12 Aug. 1740 (under date 29 July) in VOC 2512 (OB 1741).

[56] Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, *De garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (Jogjakarta: H. Buning, 1931), p. 109 et seq.

[57] Greven, dagregister 17 Sept.–19 Oct. 1730 (under date 24 Sept.) in VOC 2169 (OB 1731); *B. Sang.*, pp. 64–65.

[58] Soebardi, *Cabolek,* pp. 87–88, 96.

[59] *B. Sang.*, p. 69; Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Coyett, Sĕmarang, 22 July 1732, in VOC 2257 (OB 1733).

[60] Coyett, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 15 Oct. 1733, in VOC 2295 (OB 1734); Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, 23 Aug. 1735, in VOC 2358 (OB 1736).

[61] Coyett and Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 27 July 1733, in VOC 2294 (OB 1734); Coyett, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 15 Oct. 1733, in VOC 2295 (OB 1734); Batavia to H.XVII, 7 Mar. 1734, in dJ IX, p. 219.

[62] See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 172.

[63] Coyett and Duyvensz, Kartasura, to Sĕmarang, 25 Oct. 1733, in AN Surakarta 15 "Brieven 1733." Further Coyett, Kartasura, to Menut, Sĕmarang, 31 Oct. 1733; Menut, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 4 Nov. 1733; Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 22 Feb. 1734; all in VOC 2295 (OB 1734).

[64] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 165; see also Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* p. 166.

[65] Lons et al., Surabaya, to Sĕmarang, 11 July 1735; "Keijser Mahameroe" to "Praboe Ratoe Panatagama Praboe Sayidin Panatagama Antaredja Praboe Arab," rec'd Sĕmarang 14 July 1735; Sĕmarang to Lons et al., Surabaya, 4 Aug. 1735; all in VOC 2358 (OB 1736).

[66] Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, 19 May 1736, in VOC 2391 (OB 1737). There is considerable correspondence on murders of Chinese to be found in VOC 2398 (OB 1736) and VOC 2391 (OB 1737). See further Ricklefs, *Seen and*

Unseen Worlds, pp. 178–80.

[67] PB II, Kartasura, to Batavia, 8 Sura Je 1662 [9 May 1737], rec'd 25 May 1737; Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, 9 May 1737; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 21 May 1737; all in VOC 2418 (OB 1738).

[68] In this case sūra 5 *al-Mā'idah* verse 38 (appearing under other verse numbers in various translations). On *ḥadd,* see Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. III, p. 20. For a general survey of the application of Islamic law in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century, see Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce,* vol. I, pp. 142–44.

[69] Visscher, Surabaya, to Crul, Sĕmarang, 3 June 1737; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 30 July and 20 Aug. 1737; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Natakusuma, Kartasura, 2 Nov. 1737; Natakusuma, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, rec'd 7 Nov. 1737; all in VOC 2418 (OB 1738). Natakusuma, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, rec'd 19 Dec. 1737; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Natakusuma, Kartasura, 2 Jan. 1738; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 21 Apr. 1738; Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, 28 Apr. 1738; PB II, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, rec'd 6 May 1738; all in VOC 2449 (OB 1739). Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, 17 July 1739, in VOC 2478 (OB 1740). Tirtawijaya and his family were banished to Ayah in Banyumas.

[70] Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, 20 Apr. and 19 May 1736; Duyvensz, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 24 May 1736; all in VOC 2391 (OB 1737).

[71] Crul, Sĕmarang, to Duirvelt, Kartasura, 12 Apr. 1737; Duirvelt, Kartasura, to Crul, Sĕmarang, 22 Apr. and 12 July 1737; Crul, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 30 July 1737; all in VOC 2418 (OB 1738).

[72] *B.Sang.*, p. 83.

[73] Crul, Sĕmarang, to Batavia, 21 Apr. 1738, in VOC 2449 (OB 1739).

[74] This must be a reference to the enclosure within the mosque built to separate the king physically from other worshipers. See Soebardi, *Cabolek,* p. 96, and *Cabolek* (1885), p. 37, referring to a *tĕrancang/tĕranjang* (openwork, e.g., woven bamboo) enclosure for the king.

[75] *B.Sang.*, p. 84. Text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 199 n. 24. I was rather mystified by this passage when writing *Seen and Unseen Worlds;* my statement there that it was Sayyid 'Alwi who was ordered to give the sermon was wrong, in my view. The reconstruction work now makes sense to me, as is explained in the preceding note.

[76] See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 185–212.

[77] See p. 116 in this volume.

[78] See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 141, 148–49, 153, 157–58, 159, 162.

[79] See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 182–83, 194–98.

[80] Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century,* rev. ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Modern Indonesia Project Monograph Series, 1981), pp. 61–73.

[81] More fully described in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 232–36.

[82] Nieuwenhuijsen, dagregister 16 Sept.–10 Oct. 1739 (under date 16 Sept.), in VOC 2478 (OB 1740). For other references to the crown, see indexed entries under "Majapahit" in Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* and Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds.*

[83] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 235.

[84] The oldest MSS are Berl. SB. Or. Oct. 1224(a), *Sĕrat wulangipun ingkang*

Sinuhun sumare ing Langkungan, with a confused date that should probably be equivalent to 18 Nov. 1847; and Surakarta *kraton* MS 210 Na-B, entitled *Sĕrat wulang yasan-dalĕm Ingkang Sinuhun Pakubuwana ingkang kaping II,* dated Jimawal 1773/AH 1261/AD 184[5] (of which a useful transliteration has been done by Sri Sulistyawati). For further details, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 217 n. 3.

[85] Surakarta *kraton* MS 210 Na-B, pp. 2–3; Berl. SB. Or. Oct. 1224 (A), ff. 4v., 5r.

[86] Surakarta *kraton* MS 210 Na-B, pp. 3–4; Berl. SB Or. Oct. 1224(A) ff. 5r.–7r. Javanese text, translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 221.

[87] *Qur'ān* 99:7–8. Translation from Arberry, *Koran Interpreted,* vol. II, p. 347. Text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 220 n. 12. I am grateful to Martin van Bruinessen for identifying the Qur'anic reference.

[88] Nieuwenhuijsen, dagregister 16 Sept.–10 Oct. 1739 (under date 25 Sept.), in VOC 2478 (OB 1740).

[89] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXII, pp. 32, 35–36. Partial text and translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 236.

[90] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 238.

[91] Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia, VKI* vol. 122 (Dordrecht and Riverton: Foris Publications, 1986), pp. 84–85. Blussé's figures appear to exclude slaves from the population of Batavia *intramuros.* For comparison, in 1766 there were 15,180 people within Batavia's walls, of whom 1,282 (8.5 percent) were Europeans, 2,318 (16.6 percent) were Chinese, and 8,974 (59.1 percent) were slaves, the largest group. In Batavia's environs were found 103,338 persons, among them 378 Dutch (0.4 percent), 24,157 Chinese (23.4 percent), and 17,527 slaves (17.0 percent). The largest group in the environs were Javanese, at 30,769 (29.8 percent). See Generale lyste, 1766, in dJ XI, p. 69. On the spread of malaria from 1733, see P. H. van den Brug, *Malaria en malaise: De VOC in Batavia in de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1994).

[92] For a detailed account, see J. Th. Vermeulen, *De Chineezen te Batavia en de troebelen van 1740* (Leiden: N. V. Boek- en Steendrukkerij Eduard Ijdo, 1938). See also Blussé, *Strange Company,* pp. 89–96.

[93] See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 178–79.

[94] See p. 123 in this volume.

[95] Peter Carey, "Changing Javanese Perceptions of the Chinese Communities in Central Java, 1755–1825," *Indonesia* no. 37 (Apr. 1984), pp. 8–16.

[96] E.g., Ĕncik Ĕmas, Cik Putih in *BK* f. 660r. (published ed. vol. II, p. 357), or Cik Macan in *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXIII, p. 11. One also finds the Malay title *ĕncik* used with Chinese names; e.g. Cik Lim Co, Cik Ngau, Cik Eng, Cik Ong Kong; *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXII, pp. 42, 45, 55.

[97] E.g., *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXII, pp. 50, 51.

[98] One such MS has survived, a collection of mystical poems (*suluk*) written in October 1740: IOL Jav. 30(A) and (B). See the discussion in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 241–42.

[99] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 244–47; Willem Remmelink, *The Chinese War and the Collapse of the Javanese State, 1725–1743, VKI* vol. 162 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), pp. 127–50.

[100] I have published a summary of this debate in "The Crisis of 1740–1 in Java: The Javanese, Chinese, Madurese and Dutch, and the Fall of the Court of Kartasura," *BKI* vol. 139, nos..2–3 (1983), pp. 273–80.

[101] A general account of the attack and immediately preceding events is to be found in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 250–53.

[102] Geritsz, verhaal van het gepasseerde . . . , Sĕmarang, 10 Feb. 1742, in P. A. Leupe (ed.), "Verhaal van het gepasseerde te Kartasura vóór en onder de belegering, item, na het demolieren der vesting, door den opper-chirurgijn Aarnout Gerritsz, 1742; Aanteekening van het gepasseerde te Kartåsoerå door den luitenant Nicolaas Wiltvang en de overige vaandrigs; Aanteekening van den 20sten Julij 1741 in Z. M. hofwagt," *BKI* new series vol. 7 [vol. 11 of whole series] (1864), p. 112.

[103] See also Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 253–54.

[104] Ibid., p. 114. The scribe is named and his incompetence again reported in Wiltvang et al., aanteekening, in Leupe, "Verhaal," pp. 127, 134.

[105] Wiltvang et al., aanteekening, in Leupe, "Verhaal," pp. 133–36.

[106] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 12 Dec. 1741, in VOC 2549 (OB 1742).

[107] *BK* f. 655r. (published ed. vol. II, pp. 351–52).

[108] Wiltvang et al., aanteekening, in Leupe, "Verhaal", pp. 136–37. In 1741 the fasting month (Ramalan, Pasa) fell in the period from approximately 10 Nov. to 9 Dec. (the precise date of its beginning depending on lunar observation).

[109] Gerritsz, verhaal van het gepasseerde . . . , Sĕmarang, 10 Feb. 1742, in Leupe, "Verhaal," pp. 116–17.

[110] IOL Jav. 83 (IO 3102). *Kitab Fatahurrahman* is published in G. W. J. Drewes, ed. and transl., *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's Kitāb Fatḥ al-Raḥmān and Its Indonesian Adaptations, with an Appendix on Palembang Manuscripts and Authors, VKI* vol. 81 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), pp. 52–87. Drewes did not recognize that the date found in the MS, 1663, was an error for AJ 1666. See further the discussion in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 254–60.

[111] *BK* f. 668v.

[112] On these events, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 261–66; Remmelink, *Chinese War,* pp. 165–76.

[113] PB II, Kartasura, to Batavia, 29 Sapar Alip 1667 [6 May 1742], rec'd 22 May 1742, in VOC 2585 (OB 1743).

[114] For further discussion, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 264–66.

[115] See ibid., pp. 268–74; Remmelink, *Chinese War,* pp. 180–81.

[116] M. C. Ricklefs, "The Evolution of *Babad Tanah Jawi* Texts: In Response to Day," *BKI* vol. 135, no. 4 (1979), pp. 446–48, 451.

[117] L. Adam, "Geschiedkundige aanteekeningen omtrent de Residentie Madioen, II: Bergheiligdommen op Lawoe en Wilis," *Djåwå* vol. 18 (1938), pp. 100–1.

[118] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 283–84.

[119] *BTJ(BP),* vol. XXVIII, pp. 5–6. Javanese text and English translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 279–82.

[120] *BTJ(BP),* vol. XXVIII, p. 7. Javanese text and English translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 283.

[121] F. Fokkens Jr., "De priesterschool te Tegalsari," *TBG* vol. 24 (1877), pp. 318–20. For further discussion, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 285–86.

[122] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXVIII, pp. 22–24. See Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 286–87.

[123] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 289–92; Remmelink, *Chinese War,* pp. 193–95.

[124] SB MS PB A.109, pp. 178–82. Javanese text, full translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 296–300. The MS is discussed further in ibid., pp. 293–305.

[125] Cf. *Qur'ān* 2:3–4.

[126] The MS is damaged, but the final word appears to be *Allah*.

[127] The MS is damaged.

[128] The MS is damaged.

[129] The total lunar eclipse of 8 May 1743, no. 4561 in Theodor Ritter von Oppolzer, *Canon of Eclipses* (*Canon der Finsternisse*), transl. Owen Gingerich (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1962), p. 370.

[130] Two days after the celebration of the Prophet's birth at Garĕbĕg Mulud, which must have been a very modest affair in the rebel court of Randhulawang.

[131] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 305; Remmelink, *Chinese War,* pp. 197–98.

[132] Verijssel and Theling, kort bericht, Sĕmarang, 14 Dec. 1743, in AN Solo 42.

[133] See p. 117 in this volume.

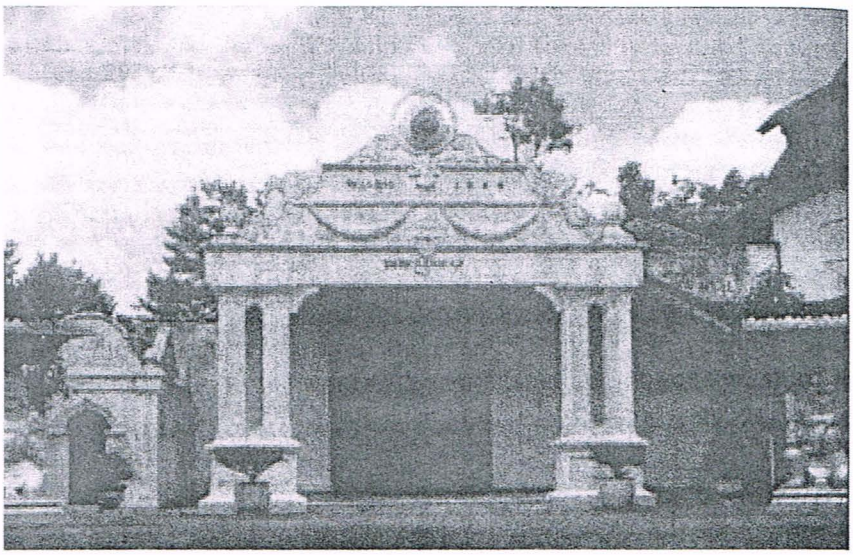
[134] M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749–1792: A History of the division of Java,* London Oriental Studies vol. 30 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 48–52.

Chapter 6

Variegated Styles in Islamic Java, from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries

The decades of interest in this chapter began in conflict, but then offered Javanese the longest period of peace since at least the early sixteenth century, perhaps the longest period of peace ever in Javanese history. This allowed population growth, agricultural expansion, the founding of new principalities, attention to literature and the arts, and a strengthening of the identification of Javaneseness with Islam, a process by then at least four centuries old. Developments in the external Islamic context supported this strengthening.[1] By the end of the eighteenth century, a dominant mode of Islamic identity was recognizable among the elite, one that saw Islam as integral to being Javanese but also admitted indigenous, pre-Islamic spiritual forces.

In 1746 Prince Mangkubumi, the most dynamic of the brothers of the hapless Pakubuwana II, went into rebellion.[2] He was then around thirty years of age. As was noted in the previous chapter, some fifteen years before, Mangkubumi had a reputation for extreme forms of asceticism.[3] According to *Sĕrat Cabolek,* he had defeated the spirit that caused the rice disease *mĕnthek* (in fact, the tungro virus) through reciting certain sūras of the *Qur'ān* and winning divine intercession.[4] Now one of the leading adult princes of the Javanese court (since early 1746 in its present location of Surakarta), Mangkubumi was unable to accept the interference of the VOC in Javanese affairs, Pakubuwana II's weakness in dealing with the Dutch, and the detriment he suffered when the visiting governor-general, G. W. van Imhoff (1743–50), lent support to his opponents in *kraton* intrigues.[5] When Mangkubumi left the court, he joined forces with his nephew Raden Mas Said, who had been in rebellion



One of the entrances (the Danapratapa) to the *kraton* of Yogyakarta

since the Chinese-VOC War of the 1740s. They soon commanded a rebel army said to total thirteen thousand men, including twenty-five hundred cavalry. In 1749 Mangkubumi proclaimed himself king. He thus initiated a partition of Central Java into two monarchies, a partition that was to become permanent.

As Pakubuwana II and his VOC allies were deserted by more and more courtiers and commoners, it seemed as if Mangkubumi must emerge triumphant. But the VOC, even if it could not defeat Mangkubumi, also could not be expelled from its *pasisir* and *kraton* defensive positions. Military stalemate loomed. A split developed between Mas Said and Mangkubumi, one that spawned the bitterest of all animosities among major Javanese figures of the late eighteenth century. So Mangkubumi's priority became less to expel Pakubuwana III (r. 1749–88) from his *kraton* than to defeat Mas Said. By 1754 he and the VOC were ready to open negotiations.

In these negotiations, a figure from the wider Islamic world played a significant role. A Turk named Ibrahim came to the Dutch in Batavia, having arrived there after travels in Malaya. He offered to mediate between the VOC and Mangkubumi, employing the influence that he claimed to have among Muslim princes. This man is mentioned in Dutch

and Javanese sources and even, as will be seen shortly, appears in French archives. His background remains obscure. The Dutch accepted his offer of mediation, and so did Mangkubumi. Ibrahim played a crucial role in facilitating the initial contacts that led in due course to the Treaty of Giyanti of February 1755, by which time Ibrahim himself had left Java for Mecca.[6] By this treaty, the interior of Central Java (the *pasisir* already having been ceded to the VOC by Pakubuwana II) was partitioned between the realm of Surakarta and Mangkubumi's new kingdom of Yogyakarta. Mangkubumi became Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana I (r. 1749–92), the first ruler of the Mataram line to use the title of sultan since Sultan Agung over a century before.

Ibrahim had evidently been accepted by Mangkubumi because he claimed to be an emissary of Sultan Rum, that is, the Ottoman Sultan, with authority to adjudicate the Javanese wars.[7] Sultan Rum was a powerful figure in Javanese mythology. He was credited with ordering the initial peopling of the island of Java in the mythological text *Sĕrat Aji Saka* and in the prophecies ascribed to the semimythical king Jayabaya, as well as in related works.[8] The position of Sultan Rum was thus not necessarily dependent upon actual claims to precedence on the part of the Ottoman sultan. Yet Mangkubumi seems in fact to have recognized such claims and to have accepted Ibrahim's mediation on those grounds.

Moreover, when Ibrahim left Java it seems he did so with an intention, supported by Mangkubumi, to inspire the French to expel the Dutch from Java. He appeared before the French ambassador in Constantinople in late 1755 or early 1756, carrying letters from Indonesian rulers—none of which could be read by the available translators—and claiming that they were inviting the French to replace the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago. Ibrahim claimed the authority of, among others, the "great Sultan of Solo" (i.e., Pakubuwana III) and "the Sultan of . . . Mataram" (i.e., Mangkubumi).

French authorities briefly considered the proposal, concluded that it was chimerical or at least too risky, and rejected it.[9] In 1771, Ibrahim appeared in Constantinople again, this time to approach the Dutch representative. It is not known what Ibrahim had been doing in the intervening period, but he asserted that he had been in Java for sixteen years and had become, as the Dutch phrased it, *padre grande* (perhaps meaning chief *pĕngulu,* the head of the religious establishment, at the Yogyakarta court).[10] He again claimed to be on a mission from the rulers of Java, Sumatra, and Malaya, this time to make direct contact with the

VOC's headquarters in Amsterdam, for they did not trust the VOC in Batavia. The VOC rejected him.[11]

That Mangkubumi, and evidently other monarchs, recognized Ibrahim as a figure of authority confirms their perception of themselves as members of a wider Islamic community. This is not to say that they were necessarily paragons of piety. Throughout Mangkubumi's subsequent years as sultan of Yogyakarta, he proved himself to be Java's greatest monarch since Sultan Agung, but the ascetic assiduity of his youth does not appear to have attended his later years. It will be clear below that he was a practicing Muslim, but he was no Sultan Agung, no champion of accelerated Islamization. Perhaps he felt there was no longer a need for that.

The international Islamic climate encouraged the strengthening of Islamic identity in Java. As noted above, in this period there may have been greater social and political activism in Ṣūfī circles across the Islamic world.[12] Many Ṣūfīs promoted *jihād* against unbelievers, including the Dutch in Indonesia. Indonesian–Middle Eastern contacts were facilitated by the networks of '*ulamā*' that are the subject of Azyumardi Azra's invaluable study.

In the eighteenth century, these networks continued to bring together Islamic scholars from various parts of the archipelago who studied in Mecca, Medina, and sometimes Cairo. Figures such as 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbāni (from Palembang), Muhammad Arshad al-Banjārī and Muhammad Nafīs al-Banjārī (from Banjarmasin), 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masri from Batavia, Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (from Patani), and others supported Ṣufī-based renewal movements in the archipelago whose roots went back to the great figures of the seventeenth century, ar-Raniri, Abdurrauf, and Shaikh Yusuf. Those who returned to their homelands in the later eighteenth century supported reforms among the Muslims of Batavia, Banjarmasin, Palembang, and elsewhere.[13] Such men and their writings circulated in the Javanese-speaking heartland of Central and East Java as well.

Azyumardi Azra observes,

> Malay-Indonesian scholars in the eighteenth century played a crucial role, not only in maintaining the momentum of Islamic renewal in the archipelago, . . . but more importantly in passing the banner of renewalism to the next generation of Malay-Indonesian scholars. . . .
>
> [They] also played an important role in preserving the morale of

> their fellow Muslims in facing the continuing encroachment of European colonial powers. . . .
>
> We should not, of course, overemphasize the European factor, but there is little doubt that it contributed to the growing concern among our Malay-Indonesian scholars for the future of Islam in the region.[14]

In the case of the territories under Javanese rule, there is no doubt that anti-Dutch sentiments had a role to play. But this was not necessarily driven entirely by anti-*kāfir* sentiments. As noted above with regard to the Turkish mediator Ibrahim's mission to the French, Mangkubumi and perhaps other Indonesian potentates were prepared to deal with Europeans other than the Dutch. It needs also to be emphasized that, in the later eighteenth century, Dutch power in Indonesia was in fact on the wane as the corrupt, inefficient, nepotistic, and overextended VOC drifted toward bankruptcy. VOC intervention in the courts of Java receded in this period, only to revive again in the period discussed in the following chapter. In the later eighteenth century the VOC imposed more direct control over Bantĕn, which was adjacent to Batavia and therefore of special significance. But elsewhere in the archipelago this was an age of retrenchment. Company posts such as those in Timor, Makasar, Palembang, Padang, and South Kalimantan were reduced to mere token presences.

It is important to avoid overgeneralization. As Javanese society moved toward a firmer view of itself as a society of Muslims, in an environment in which no other religious identity offered any serious alternative, not every Javanese thereby became more devout. To imagine so would be to forget that the Javanese—probably numbering something like three or four million by the end of the eighteenth century—were variform in their religious devotionalism, as is true of any society.[15] A relevant and remarkable conversation between a Dutch officer and a senior Javanese lord is described in *Babad Giyanti,* the eighteenth-century chronicle that covers the Third Javanese War of Succession. This is set in early 1747 and opens with comments ascribed to the Dutch officer:

> "Mr. Raden Tumĕnggung,
> every nation must stand by
> the duties and customs of their religion.
> But Javanese don't concern themselves
> with their religion.
> Therefore they are weak in war.

"The proof is evident:
when they wish to destroy the Company,
but are unable [to perform] their religion,
then good people suffer ill,
even though they have not been defeated.
One against a hundred enemy, Company people

"remain true to their religion,
indeed they are blessed.
There are many differences among religions
but that which is bad and that which is best
are all creations of the Immaterial,
really all established the same."

Nodding his head, Raden Tumĕnggung
Yudanagara spoke,
"Yes, that's true, Tuwan."[16]

But if some Javanese whom the VOC encountered in war seemed not to concern themselves with their religion, others certainly did. *Babad Giyanti* records that Mangkubumi was supported in battle by "those who serve in holy war, the *ulama* and the *hajis,* Haji Bocor and Kyai Haji Wingka, and Haji Tapsirudin." In the ensuing battle, Ky. H. Wingka's body was cut in half by cannon fire, but his horse continued to gallop about with the lower half still in the saddle. Upon seeing this, the common soldiers began to lose hope. "Very many of the *umat* [Ar. *umma,* the people of Islam] fled," says the *babad.*[17] So we must accept that there was variety in Javanese religious sensibilities, as is true of any other society. Some Javanese did not concern themselves greatly with religion, but others were ready to die in holy war.

In this context, there is value in pursuing the role of Islam in Javanese society by observing some of its leading figures. This was a strongly hierarchical society. Genealogy was a well-developed branch of learning, helping people to place themselves socially in relation to each other. The Javanese language was one of the most thoroughly hierarchical in the world, with basic word choices, affixes, and even grammatical constructions determined by the relationship among speaker, hearer, and topic. Monarchs and aristocrats were the beneficiaries and definers of social hierarchy. They created cultural and social standards. This study has already illustrated the significance of the Javanese elite in changing

religious contexts, from the early Muslim aristocrats of Majapahit to Ratu Pakubuwana. In the later eighteenth century, their social significance was undiminished. These aristocrats are also, of course, the people who are most clearly visible in the surviving historical evidence.

Within this hierarchical society there was social mobility, particularly in times of upheaval such as the Third Javanese War of Succession, and some of that mobility was sanctioned by the egalitarian ethos of Islamic teachings. Even before Mangkubumi left Surakarta in 1746, one of his brothers already in rebellion, Png. Buminata, had proclaimed himself Sultan Dhandhun Martengsari. According to *Babad Giyanti,* he cast scorn on Mangkubumi on the grounds that the latter's mother was of less distinguished descent than his own. Two elderly advisors responded to this snobbery with an ethical lesson said to be Islamic in authority.

> "Don't abandon sound understandings,
> deviating from the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth.*
>
> "Of all descendants,
> those who become the pillars are indeed the men.
> The son of a rice-basket carrier,
> if chosen by the king—
> this is not too lowly for a king [to choose]
> and does no damage to religion.
> If there should be an official
>
> "who was originally the son of a villager,
> who serves and thus receives a princess,[18]
> there is no remaining token [of his ancestry].
> If he is capable and brave,
> this pillar is still an aristocrat [although] descended from a village."[19]

Mangkubumi was the dominant political leader of later-eighteenth-century Java. There can be little doubt of his sense of himself as part of a larger Islamic world, as is suggested by the story of his youthful asceticism and his involvement with the Turkish mediator Ibrahim. Even before the Giyanti settlement of 1755, Mangkubumi asked the VOC to bring back to Java Natakusuma, the *patih* whom Pakubuwana II had surrendered to the VOC to be exiled in 1742.[20] He had been one

of the supporters of the influential Islamizing party at Kartasura, and his removal had left no member of that party in the king's inner circle.

Sri Lanka, then still under Dutch control, was used by the VOC along with the Cape of Good Hope as a place of exile for rebellious or merely distrusted Indonesians. Shaikh Yusuf of Makasar was one of the prominent figures exiled there, and later to the Cape, in the seventeenth century. In 1738, Urawan/Purbaya had been sent into exile in Sri Lanka. It lay on the main sailing routes from Indonesia to the Middle East and was thus also a stopping place for *hajis*. There Indonesian exiles found common cause in their injury at the hands of the Dutch and common identity in the Islamic faith that in many cases had inspired the action that led to their exile. In 1758 Natakusuma and several members of the royal house who had been exiled to Sri Lanka during the long years of warfare were returned to Mangkubumi's new sultanate of Yogyakarta. The sultan gave Natakusuma the princely title of Pangeran Juru and recognized him as one of his senior counselors.

Babad Giyanti preserves an account of the religious experiences of the exiles in Sri Lanka. This was told by the wife of Natakusuma/Juru when she visited the court of Surakarta. According to this account, after they had been three months in Sri Lanka, the exiles were blessed by God in the arrival of one Sayyid Musa 'Idrus (Sayyid Musa Ngidrus), a true holy man, a veritable *sayyid auliyā'* (one of the descendants of the Prophet who stand close to God).[21] Everything that he desired came to be, and the whole of Sri Lanka was in commotion as all became students of Musa 'Idrus. Natakusuma and his wife, too, became senior students of Musa 'Idrus. As senior disciples, they received the homage of his devotees on his behalf.

After a month, according to this report, Musa 'Idrus had over three thousand students. Great merchant shippers came from Surat, Bengal, and Sĕlangor, all seeking his blessing. Every Friday evening the students gathered for *Qur'ān* recitations, and it was necessary for Natakusuma's wife to see to the slaughter of up to fifteen goats to feed them. Because they received the Almighty's love, however, ever more provisions flowed to them, even more than they had known while still in Kartasura.

His wife's story said that Natakusuma was asked what had been his favorite tastes when he lived in Kartasura. He replied, laughing, that he loved fish, tempeh (soybean cake), and various fruits. Then tempeh and fruit arrived from Kartasura every Friday eve, reviving the hearts of the exiles through this miracle (*karamat*) of their *guru*.

Tales of this kind, about Muslim holy men with magical powers and the wide world of Islam beyond Java's shores, can only have strengthened the sense of Islamic identity among the Javanese elite. The texts of Islam also served this purpose, of course. *Kraton* manuscript collections confirm that a wide range of religious works originally in Arabic or Malay were copied and/or translated. The manuscripts looted from the Yogyakarta *kraton* library by British forces in 1812 include the *Qur'ān*, *Menak*, *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā ruḥ al-Nābi* (discussed below), works of *fiqh*, mystical poems (*suluks*), and so on.[22] When Mangkubumi married off his daughter Ratu Bĕndara in 1765, he told the chief religious officer of the court, the *pĕngulu*, that "her bride price will be the *Qur'ān* and the religious books [*kitab*], indeed. Let those be taught to my daughter, recited to the very end, to be carried with her until the world to come."[23]

Not only the texts of Islam but also, at least later in life, its prayer regimes were followed by Mangkubumi. In 1789, with the sultan in his sixties, the VOC resident at Yogyakarta, J. M. van Rhijn (1773–86), reported on his daily routine. "After carrying out his religious service, His Highness passes the evening and night with various amusements of dance and *wayang* performances. Otherwise he frequently has someone read out to him old stories or passages from his own adventures."[24] First his prayers, then the entertainments.

In his last years, Mangkubumi sent a mission to Mecca to repair a house (presumably used by Javanese *hajis*) there and to seek "priestly investiture." The latter term was the Dutch understanding of his intentions, which may have been to seek confirmation by the *sharīf* of Mecca of his title of sultan, as had been done by Sultan Agung and Sultan Abulmafakhir of Bantĕn some 150 years before. His emissaries sailed on a VOC ship in 1790 but evidently only returned three months after his death in 1792.[25]

Others in Mangkubumi's family also left evidence of their commitment to Islam. His brother Png. Singasari remained in rebellion, refusing to submit either to Mangkubumi or to his counterpart in Surakarta, Susuhunan Pakubuwana III. In 1768 he was finally captured by VOC forces in the mountainous Malang region. He died while imprisoned in Batavia, before he could be sent into overseas exile. The Dutch reported that several Muslim "priests" and at least one Moor (a non-Indonesian Muslim) and one Malay were among the rebels surrounding Singasari.[26] According to *Babad Mangkubumi*, the people of Malang were eager to fight the Dutch unbelievers:

> All of the troops
> of Malang were cheerful in their hearts,
> marching against the Dutch troops,
> all intending Holy War.
> The independent religious folk[27] following,
> their machetes in their waist-bands,
> their walking staves[28] turned into
> weapons for use in battle.
> The nature of the people of Malang was wily, firm, and courageous.[29]

Mangkubumi's son, the future sultan Haměngkubuwana II (r. 1792–1810, 1811, 1826–28), was responsible for the writing of the most spiritually potent book of Mangkubumi's reign. This book, entitled *Surya Raja* (The sun of the king), is the only book in the sultan's court to be considered one of the royal *pusakas*, the supernaturally charged accoutrements of kingship whose power can be controlled only by royal sanctity. It was written at the opening of the new Javanese century, in the first month of AJ 1700 (March 1774). Javanese dynastic traditions posited a cycle of centuries, in that a kingdom fell in the '00 year for a new one to be founded in the '03 year, so the commencement of AJ 1700 constituted a considerable challenge to the Javanese courts. I have argued that *Surya Raja* seems to have been a form of literary magic, most probably "mythologized future history," "a powerful prophetic document to deal with the crisis of AJ 1700."[30]

The opening of *Surya Raja* demonstrates that the future Haměngkubuwana II was operating within an Islamic conceptual framework.

> Be it known, this is the *pusaka* of Kangjěng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Haměngkunĕgara [the crown prince], the illustrious, Royal Son of his father the Great King. That is, Kangjěng Sultan Haměngkubuwana [I]. . . . And praised exceedingly in this book, indeed, is the perfect heart of Kangjěng Sultan; may he receive the blessing of Allah the Most High in this world and in the world to come, and the blessing of the intercession of Kangjěng Nabi [Prophet] Muḥammad—God bless him and grant him peace.
>
> Be perfect the praise of his heart when, indeed, Kangjěng Gusti [the crown prince], great of intent, creates the secrets of knowledge [*ngelmu*, Arabic *'ilm*] and the ordering of the kingdom, contained in *Sĕrat Surya Raja*. . . .

> Indeed, he[31] is destined to remain enveloped with the Attributes of the Majesty of God, the Beauty of God, the Perfection of God, the Omnipotence of God, and the [divine] Attributes Omnipotent, Willing, Knowing, Living, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking, Being One.[32]
>
> . . .
>
> [This book] was written on . . . the eighth day of the month Muharram of the year 1-7-0-0 [21 March 1774].[33]

The Islamic context is clear from this poem, even if princely arrogance may be thought to have taken precedence over orthodoxy in the ascription of divine attributes to the crown prince himself. In the *Surya Raja* story is found further evidence that, for the future Haměngkubuwana II, Islam and Javanese traditions were so much at one that both God and the Goddess of the Southern Ocean were on the side of Yogyakarta. The story opens in a mythical Islamic kingdom in Java called Purwa Gupita ("first told") or Purwa Cipta ("first thought of").[34] The king partitions his realm between two sons, so that the setting of the story mirrors the partition of Java between Yogyakarta and Surakarta at the time the book was written. A series of court intrigues and conflicts ensues in *Surya Raja,* in which Prince Pujakusuma emerges as the principal hero, a man of legendary beauty, like Joseph come down from paradise. It seems that Pujakusuma was the allegorical representative of the Yogyakarta crown prince himself. His adventures include death and resurrection, instruction in Islamic mysticism, an encounter with the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, and eventual reunification of Java.

Surya Raja introduces infidel foreigners from overseas, who are unmistakably the VOC. They attack Java and destroy the cities of the *pasisir*. While warfare continues, the lord of Giri announces that Pujakusuma is to become king. In celebration, the prince dines with the Muslim scholars and other religious. As he ascends the throne, he looks like both Solomon and Joseph.

Surya Raja describes how the new king—the allegorical representative of the future Haměngkubuwana II of Yogyakarta—seeks holy war (*sabilolah*) against the infidel foreigners. His army's departure is preceded by court festivities, with the soldiers dancing and *wayang* and *gamělan* being performed.[35] When the two sides engage, a military stalemate ensues. The Javanese are supported by the Goddess of the Southern Ocean and her spirit army, but the foreigners have equally

powerful supernatural support. So the goddess orders the Javanese to recite the *Qur'ān* and to pray to God. The foreign leader's field residence is then struck by earthquake and storm. The spirits on the Javanese side now take the offensive and mount a siege of the infidels' capital. The Javanese king, however, orders that the city be frightened but not conquered.

Now the foreign king falls ill in his besieged city, the result of divine intervention on the Javanese side. The infidels pray to their god (*dewa*), but neither their god nor the spirit king of their side can cure the ailing monarch. As the king prays alone one night, he suddenly hears a disembodied voice saying,

"So, O king, you ask the *dewa*

"to be cured of your illness
and for all such wishes.
This has not been granted because
of this: your sphere,
all of it,
and the praying to the *dewa,*
it is the wish of the Most High
that it be laid waste. Change your faith
to Islam, call upon
Allah the Most High.

"This god does not exist
rather Allah the Most High be praised
in the form
that is one,
who created the worlds,
transient and eternal;
all of it, completely
is governed by Allah.
And pay homage to the Prophet
Muḥammad, the Emissary

"of Allah the Most High.
If you observe not
the Islamic faith,
your *kraton* is destined
to be destroyed by the enemy.
You will disappear with

your wives, children and servants.
If you follow Islam
your enemies will surely withdraw themselves
and you shall be healed.

"The Islamic faith
is above; below are the believers in gods."[36]

The ailing infidel king wonders greatly at this, but he knows nothing of Islam. So, says *Surya Raja,* he asks the Almighty for help. The voice returns, telling him that Allah has given the *Qur'ān* and books (*kitab*) to set out the ways of Islam. These books then magically appear before him. The king is cured; he reads the *Qur'ān* and *kitab* and embraces Islam. So, too, do all of his court and people. The former infidel ruler is now a king who stands near to god, a *ratu waliolah.*

The converted foreign king tells the monarch of all the lands overseas (Tanah Sabrang) of his miraculous cure and conversion, and this senior king, too, embraces Islam. The king of Java then orders the Goddess of the Southern Ocean to withdraw her besieging armies from the foreigners' citadel.

Surya Raja concludes with a cordial meeting between the two former enemy kings, now both Muslims. The Javanese king and the ruler of Tanah Sabrang exchange gifts and deliberate on mystical knowledge. They then exchange documents with each other and return to their respective domains.

The crown prince's *Surya Raja* thus created a magically charged means of dealing with the partition of Java and the presence of the Europeans, with Islamic identity central to its solution. Java would be reunited under the auspices of the princely hero who was allegorically the crown prince of Yogyakarta himself. The European invaders would be converted to Islam, and all would live in harmony thereafter. The Goddess of the Southern Ocean was important in this, but *Surya Raja* established a clear hierarchy in which she was a lesser spiritual power than the God of Islam. It was the Islamic identity of Java and the supernatural force of the Islamic faith that were the keys to *Surya Raja*'s future. There remains no way of knowing how the Yogyakarta crown prince expected all of this to operate in the temporal world of eighteenth-century Java. But it seems clear that being a Muslim was central to his view of what it meant to be Javanese.

One of Sultan Mangkubumi's daughters also left evidence of her interest in Islam. This was R. Ay. Danukusuma, younger sister to Hamĕngkubuwana II and wife to the Patih Danurĕja I's son. Her own son became Patih Danurĕja II (1799–1811).[37] She owned a Javanese version of *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-Nabī*, published by Anthony Johns as *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*. The original Arabic work was written by the Gujarati scholar Muhammad ibn Faḍli'llāh al-Burhānpūri (d. 1620) and was known in Sumatra before 1630. It is reasonable to suppose that it would have become known in pious circles in Java at around the same time, but it is not known when the Javanese-language version (which is not just a translation of the Arabic text) was first composed. The work argues for mystical practices to be set in the context of Islamic law, eschewing more heterodox and extravagant forms of mysticism.[38]

The Javanese version of the *Tuḥfa* nicely illustrates the reconciliation of Islamic ideas and previous Javanese concepts. For example, as the text discusses the difficult doctrine of seven grades of emanation, it takes refuge in a Hindu-Javanese metaphor of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa to make its point clear:

> Being that is external is called
> metaphorical Being because it exists only insofar
> as it is connected with its reality,
> which is found within the [Divine] knowledge.
> There is no difference between these two
> They are like Wisnu and Krĕsna
> in the way they appear.
> When Holy Wisnu was [incarnated as] Krĕsna
> the visible Krĕsna was the shadow of the true Wisnu,
> who was the reality of the Holy Krĕsna.
>
> The true power of Krĕsna was honored,
> praised throughout the world,
> yet no one knew the doings
> of Holy Krĕsna, who was truly Wisnu:
> they met not, nor were brought together
> yet they were one
> in reality.[39]

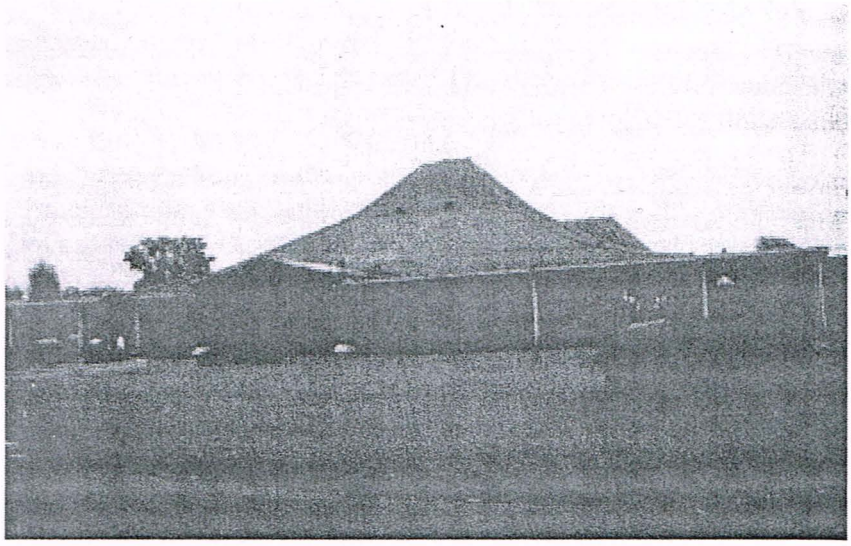
Like the sixteenth-century manuscripts described in chapter 1, in the *Tuḥfa* the Javanese word *pangeran* (lord) is sometimes used rather than

Allah for God. So are other standard Javanese terms for the deity.[40] So the *Tuḥfa* reflects the amalgamation of Islamic and Javanese ideas in the court circles where it was owned in late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century Yogyakarta.

The most publicly pious figure among the late-eighteenth-century Javanese elite was Prince Mangkunĕgara I (r. 1757–95), the former rebel Mas Said. According to the Surakarta Major *Babad,* a chronicle compiled from older works and finalized in the Surakarta *kraton* in 1836, prophecies about Mangkunĕgara I's future greatness attended his birth in 1726.[41] Around 1732 and again in 1738 such prophecies circulated about the young prince.[42] He spent much of his teenage years and all of his twenties as a rebel fighter. In 1743, he joined a group led by one R. Pangulu, based at the holy grave of Tĕmbayat. Pangulu and his followers sought to pursue holy war against the Dutch by relying on magical power that was to be generated by carrying the *Qur'ān* and other religious books, chewing calamus root and spitting as they marched into battle. According to the Surakarta Major *Babad,* the Europeans' guns indeed failed to fire at first, but then the spell was broken and the rebels were cut down.[43]

If *Babad Giyanti* is to be believed, Mangkunĕgara I's piety was sometimes overwhelmed by his arrogance. It tells of an early stage of the Third Javanese War of Succession, in late 1746 and early 1747, when Mangkunĕgara I's forces had been defeated. He left his wife and grandmother in the safekeeping of the villagers of Matesih, on the slopes of Mt. Lawu, and headed for the mountain retreat of two seers described as *ajar* and *pandhita,* Old Javanese and Sanskrit terms that may (but not necessarily) indicate Hindu teachers. According to the chronicle, he told the two what had happened, and they replied that his own arrogance was the reason for the destruction of his forces:

> "Thus, my lord, in the future
> in battle you will certainly be broken,
> destroyed with all your troops
> because of your sinful arrogance,
> your boasting character,
> your exaggerated self-reliance and self-praise.
>
> "You rely only on your cleverness and ingenuity,
> your excellence on the field of battle,
> on the sufficiency or insufficiency of your



Palace of prińce Mangkunĕgara

amulets,
upon your spells and magic formulae for victory,
your extraordinary capability and supernatural
power,
your outstanding heroism.

"You forget that defeat or victory in war
is in the hands of the All-Seeing. . . ."[44]

Dutch sources also comment on the energy and aggressiveness of Mangkunĕgara I's character. In 1761 he was reported as being of short stature, but "fire and vivacity radiate from his eyes."[45] Eleven years later, at a time of tension in Surakarta, a VOC officer there was treated to an unpleasantly vivacious reception by Mangkunĕgara I, by then out of rebellion and installed as a subsidiary lord under the Susuhunan of Surakarta. The resident sent his adjutant to Mangkunĕgara I, who was suspected of plotting violence. The unfortunate adjutant was admitted to the prince's palace, where he was obliged to approach the prince between two rows of pikemen. At the end, Mangkunĕgara I was putting on a display of Javanese dance, no doubt of the aggressive masculine style. He then ordered his troops simultaneously to cock their pistols,

Grave of R.A. Kusumapatahati, Gunung Wijil

carbines, and blunderbusses. Only then was the adjutant invited to convey the resident's message.[46] The VOC believed that Mangkunĕgara I was a source of potential trouble for them because he was particularly susceptible to the influence of religiously inspired troublemakers.[47]

The wife whom Mangkunĕgara I had left in the safekeeping of the villagers of Matesih when his fortunes were at low ebb appears to have played a role in encouraging his religiosity. This was R. Ay. Kusumapatahati. Her father was a holy man named Ky. Kasan Nuriman, and his father a religious leader at the holy grave of Tĕmbayat. Further generations led back to the founder of the Mataram dynasty, Pan. Senapati Ingalaga (r. c. 1584–1601).[48]

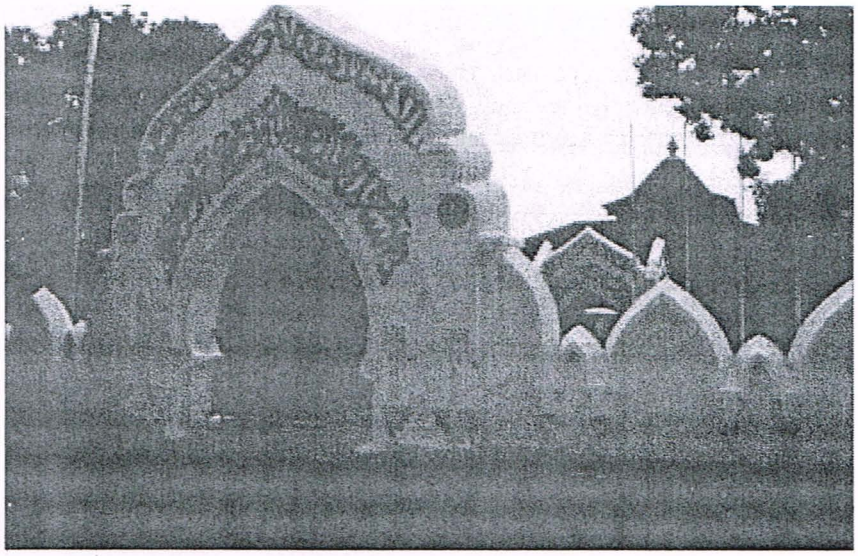
The text *Sĕrat Wahanabrata* tells of extraordinary happenings at the death of Kasan Nuriman's father-in-law (Kusumapatahati's grandfather)

that indicates his possession of and ability to bequeath supernatural powers. As his end approached, says the text, the old holy man instructed Kasan Nuriman on the preparation of his body for burial. After he died, the body was washed and laid out in the traditional manner. But it was observed that the body's penis began to move, then stand erect. Kasan Nuriman flung the covering clothing aside, took the erect penis in his mouth, and spat it out again, whereupon the penis subsided and the body was again covered.[49]

Modern readers may find this story bizarre, not to say repellant, but it relates to a supernaturally powerful ritual attested at other times in Javanese history. At the death of Senapati Ingalaga c. 1601, the surviving princes reportedly gathered to kiss the body's penis without, however, anything more bizarre happening.[50] When Amangkurat II died in 1703, the princes reportedly came to do the same. But this time, as in the Kasan Nuriman story, the penis stood erect. The dead king's brother Png. Pugĕr quickly saw and sucked up "a radiant light as large as a peppercorn" from the tip of the penis, whereby the supernatural legitimacy of kingship passed to Pugĕr, legitimizing his subsequent usurpation of the throne as Pakubuwana I (r. 1704–19).[51] In the case of Kasan Nuriman, too, the story is clearly about the transfer of supernatural powers from his father-in-law's line to Kasan Nuriman's, and thence presumably to Mangkunĕgara I.

A diary kept by one of Mangkunĕgara I's female soldiers gives a picture of the life of the Mangkunĕgaran court in his later years, 1780–93.[52] Ann Kumar's summary of this source provides valuable evidence of Mangkunĕgara I's piety. He frequently attended the mosque on Fridays, admonished his people to do the same, instructed them in proper postures for ritual prayer, personally copied out the *Qur'ān* several times, often kept watch in the mosque on the eve of Friday, observed religious students (*santri*) in recitation and *dhikr* (the recitation of the divine names or other religious formulae as a mystical exercise), and in other ways displayed exemplary princely piety.[53] One entry, for example, describes three hundred *santri* in the *pĕndhapa* (pavilion at the front of the court) chanting from ten copies of the *Qur'ān* on the occasion of Mangkunĕgara I's birthday, followed by a *wayang* performance.[54] On another occasion 370 *santri* chanted from twelve copies of the *Qur'ān*.[55]

There was no cultural clash with the Javanese environment in Mangkunĕgara's style of Islamic piety. He was also a patron of Javanese dance and literature. In spiritual matters, however, he may have achieved



Mosque of Mangkunĕgaran principality

a synthesis that somewhat tested the boundaries of orthodoxy. There was a long-standing connection between Mangkunĕgara I and Mt. Lawu, where he fought many of his battles. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the spirit Sunan Lawu seems to have been real to him and his followers, just as the Goddess of the Southern Ocean was real to Javanese Muslims of the time and was made a force subordinate to God in *Surya Raja*. But today's legends about Sunan Lawu are at least non-Islamic and in some ways anti-Islamic, as was noted above when discussing Pakubuwana II's meeting with the spirit.[56] So Sunan Lawu, essentially a wind god, is a figure who fits rather uncomfortably in a picture of Mangkunĕgara I as a pious Muslim. The diary of his court says that when Mangkunĕgara I built a mosque at Mangadĕg on Mt. Lawu, where he was later to be buried,

> Sunan Lawu gave assistance:
> Volcanic mud flowed in the stream,
> throwing up sand along the banks.
> Those levied to gather limestone
> collected the limestone quickly,
> unworried as they dug it out.

While gathering this
all of those doing the work
were amazed and startled, and fell down.
But eventually they saw
that lightning was their fellow worker
and smooth stones were there to be gathered.[57]

The Goddess of the Southern Ocean was probably just as real to Mangkunĕgara I. *Babad Giyanti* ascribes to him the following words, c. 1748, about the need for those of aristocratic (or supernatural) descent nevertheless to behave like warriors: "Even if your mother is Nyai Rara Kidul [the Goddess], if you dare not go into battle, who will trust to follow you?"[58]

The Mangkunĕgaran library houses a manuscript written by Mangkunĕgara I himself, which gives a valuable insight into his own thoughts. The book is written in Javanese verse. It begins with a Javanese date equivalent to 10 October 1769 and praise of the Creator, "who created the Emissary outstanding, for all spirits and humans." It goes on to a cosmogony that is familiar from Javanese (and wider) Sufism: the creation word (*ĕkun*), which, as set out in scriptures, produced the lamp (*kandil*) hung upon the throne, from which a spark fell and created the Prophetic Spirit (*roh nabi*), the origin of the world. This Spirit was the prophet Adam. There were 7,977 years between Adam and the Prophet Muḥammad, who was born in Mecca and moved to Medina.[59]

After a standard invocation of God the Compassionate and Merciful (in Arabic in Javanese script: *Bismilah irahman irakim*), Mangkunĕgara I listed the saints and prophets descended from Adam. The text noted a multitude of Arabic names before breaking off. It then restarted the genealogy in a new canto dated AJ 1696 (AD 1770–71). The previous version was what is known in Javanese as the right-hand (*panĕngĕn*) genealogy, the line of descent from Adam via Islamic figures. The new canto listed the left-hand (*pangiwa*) line of descent from Adam through Hindu-Javanese gods and notables such as Nurcaya, Guru, Brama, Arjuna, Jayabaya, the kings of Janggala and Kĕdiri, R. Susuruh (who founded Majapahit), Brawijaya, Ki Agĕng Mataram (the ancestor of the dynasty), Senapati Ingalaga, Sultan Agung, and the subsequent kings of Mataram down to Pakubuwana II. Children of Amangkurat IV (r. 1719–26) were named, including Sultan Mangkubumi of Yogyakarta and Mangkunĕgara I's own father, who was exiled in 1728.[60]

Then Mangkunĕgara I himself appeared in his own work, in a brief account of the Third Javanese War of Succession. Interestingly, he depicted the treaty of Giyanti in 1755 as Mangkubumi (his archenemy) surrendering to the Dutch after he had been defeated in battle by Mangkunĕgara I, whereupon the Company partitioned Java and took the *pasisir* for itself. Mangkunĕgara I himself was the enemy of all three: the Susuhunan, the sultan, and the Company. But eventually he was called to Surakarta by his "younger brother" the Susuhunan (Pakubuwana II). An agreement was reached with him and the VOC, and Mangkunĕgara I and the Susuhunan were at one. This was given a date equivalent to 24 February 1757.[61] Thereafter there are notes about the ages and children of the principals of later-eighteenth-century Java.[62] In a different hand is noted the death of Mangkunĕgara I and his burial at Mangadĕg in December 1795.[63]

A short text in this volume is said to be Mangkunĕgara I's own poem on the attributes of humankind, written on a date equivalent to 17 October 1777.[64] The MS also has other short poetic fragments, passages in Arabic and in Javanese in Arabic script, but it is not clear whether many of these should be associated with Mangkunĕgara I or are later additions. One is clearly later, being given a Javanese date equivalent to July AD 1842.[65]

This manuscript, which has the character of a very personal work by Mangkunĕgara I, unpolished by professional scribes, captures the synthesis that was elite Javanese Islamic civilization in the later eighteenth century. The *pangiwa-panĕngĕn* (left-hand–right-hand) genealogies, with Islamic figures to the right and Hindu-Javanese to the left, was consistent with the sense of Islamic identity described in the preceding chapter. It reminds one of Pakubuwana II's *Sĕrat wulang*, in which Arabic and Javanese literature are depicted as a person's right and left eyes.[66] For Mangkunĕgara I and his followers, Islamic commitment was important, hence the diarist's recording of the prince's mosque attendances, and the *dhikr* and *Qur'ān* recitations at this court. But there was no evident difficulty in believing also that the autochthonous spirit of Sunan Lawu gave magical assistance in building the mosque at Mangadĕg. It is possible that Mangkunĕgara I's great-grandmother Ratu Pakubuwana would not have approved, but this is what aristocratic Javanese Islamic piety had become.

In later-eighteenth-century Mecca, where anti-Europeanism was a significant influence, Mangkunĕgara I may have had something of a reputation. The Palembang scholar 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (b. c. 1704)

lived most of his life in Mecca and Ṭā'if. Among his writings was a work entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn,* containing "fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels."[67] He was the foremost of a group of Palembang scholars of Islam, and his writings were widely disseminated in the Indonesian archipelago. Azyumardi Azra regards him as "the scholar most responsible for the further spread of neo-Sufism in the archipelago."[68] In 1772 he sent three incendiary letters back to Java with Haji Bĕsari and Haji Muhammad Idris. Sultan Mangkubumi had sent the latter to Mecca some years before, where he had studied with 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Haji Bĕsari died in Surakarta upon his return, and the letters were found among his possessions. The Surakarta *patih* turned them over to the VOC.[69]

'Abd al-Ṣamad's letters urged all three Javanese principals to defend the Islamic faith against infidels. The most incendiary was addressed to Mangkunĕgara I and clearly admonished him to contemplate holy war. The letter said (according to the Dutch translation, which is the only version that survived):

> Even more shall God forgive the sins of the most pious persons who are like Pangeran Mangkunĕgara, whom He has created to gain such great honor in the world. . . . Moreover, may it please Your Highness to consider the words of the *Qur'ān*, that a few people can indeed overcome a great force.[70]
>
> Furthermore, may it please your Highness to consider that in the *Qur'ān* stand written the following words, saying thus:
>
> That if someone dies in holy war you must not say that he is dead,[71] for God has said that the soul of such a man enters a great dove which takes it directly to heaven. . . . And all men pray to God that Your Highness may triumph over all your enemies.
>
> May Your Highness ponder the saying of Muḥammad, who said, kill all those who do not follow the Islamic faith, unless they should come over to Your Highness.[72]
>
> Therefore, the writer of this, Shaikh Muḥammad,[73] has a great desire, if it should please the Omnipotent, to see the appearance of Your Highness' feet; the reason I wish to see Your Highness is that the news of your goodness shines forth like a diamond. . . . Have courage that you shall always be fortunate if you exert yourself in the fear of God; fear not misfortune and flee all evil; if someone does such, he shall see heaven without clouds and earth without uncleanliness.[74]

For all of his continuing aggressiveness and religiosity, Mangkunĕgara I was not inspired by such admonitions to attempt holy war against the

infidel Company. This particular letter probably never reached him, since it fell into the hands of the VOC. Its message may have been conveyed by H. Muhammad Idris, whom Sultan Mangkubumi made a senior religious figure in Yogyakarta.[75] Yet this, too, may be doubted, since Mangkubumi—and not the Company—remained Mangkunĕgara I's greatest enemy, so it is not certain that one of Mangkubumi's religious would necessarily have found it easy to communicate across that divide.

The Susuhunans of Surakarta in this period, Pakubuwana III (r. 1749–88) and IV (r. 1788–1820), also left evidence of strong religious commitment. A collection of mystical poems (*suluk*) compiled on the order of Pakubuwana IX in 1870 includes several said to have been written by Pakubuwana III.[76] They deal with the doctrine of seven grades of emanation, perfect death, and mystical ecstasy. The last is a radical version of Sufism, of a kind inconsistent with the general reconciliation of Sufism and Islamic law that Azyumardi Azra notes elsewhere in the archipelago. This poem represents what Zoetmulder calls radical monism.[77] It admonishes adepts to abandon the pillars of the faith: prayer and praise (of God), the observation of the fasting month, the payment of the religious tax, and the doing of good works. It goes on:

> You are neither Muslim nor *kāfir*.
> The manifestation of the reality of the Immaterial
>
> people reflect upon, but do not recognize.
> And recitation of the *Qur'ān*,
> the payment of the religious tax:
> these carry no blessing.
> Look upon the world—it exists not.
> You alone exist,
> derived from the creation,
> with divine acts and attributes.
> Yea, you are the source of praise and
> the source of veneration.
> You are the essence of worship.[78]

Pakubuwana IV was the most mercurial and religiously ambiguous of the Javanese lords of this period.[79] Even before his accession in 1788, while still crown prince of Surakarta, he had taken an interest in religious devotees. A nephew of Mangkunĕgara I named Wiryakusuma returned from exile on the Cape of Good Hope (where he had been born to a

brother of Mangkunĕgara I) in 1787. His years in South Africa did not prevent him from displaying the style necessary to gathering and leading a religious group in Java. His followers included the man then known as Png. Kajoran, whose predecessor had been instrumental in the rebellion of Trunajaya in the preceding century. Wiryakusuma evidently exercised influence over the soon-to-be king, whose circle was said by the VOC to be "swarming with priests."[80] In April 1787 Wiryakusuma and several followers were therefore arrested and exiled.[81] Unfortunately, little is known of their doctrines because most evidence came from the VOC's resident at Surakarta (1784–88), W. A. Palm, a man of doubtful reliability, one about whom the Javanese complained strongly and who died rather suspiciously, perhaps of poison, in 1788.[82]

Two letters discovered in Surakarta in December 1787 may have caused still greater excitement in religious and royal circles. They were found in a court *gamĕlan* building and claimed to come from one Susuhunan Ayunjaya Adimurti Senapati Ingalaga, who promised to come from Mecca to drive the Europeans from Java.[83] Supernatural phenomena associated with his coming were described. To Susuhunan Pakubuwana III, one of the letters said,

> You are no longer permitted to be a king. You are descended from respectable and priestly rulers, and why do you not do right? Thus you are a king of the devil. Is that the will of God? Why know you not the Countenance of God? What sort of king are you? A king of the Europeans, you please God no more; it is finished with you; get out, you apostate from the Faith! You must no longer be in Java. I am nominated as king of Java, who maintains the Faith of the Prophet. . . . Say to the Europeans that I will come here when the sun is embellished with a white border and a rainbow, then shall I come from Mecca, sanctioned with the blessings of heaven.

The second letter delivered similar admonitions, and added the following.

> I shall also drive the Europeans from Java if they do not behave well. What have the Europeans to do here? Are the Europeans your God? All right, just stay with your Europeans. You are a devil's king, for you uphold no justice. . . . The Europeans are always giving you advice, but if one day they are no longer here, you will have to be prudent.

These letters promised the arrival of this king of Mecca in the near future, when a rainbow stood in the darkened sky in the month Sapar (November 1788), less than a year away. Understandably agitated, Pakubuwana III undertook a search for the disseminator of these letters, assisted by the VOC resident, Palm. They settled on a *pasisir kyai* whose guilt is much open to doubt, and tortured him to death. A supposed accomplice was also arrested and burned to death.

In this rather tense atmosphere, in September 1788 Pakubuwana III died and was succeeded by Pakubuwana IV, who soon precipitated a crisis by bringing in a new group of religious advisors. This was a complex affair, with a large volume of sources available, but they are almost all from the enemies of this new group, so much remains obscure.[84]

A prose chronicle about the Mangkunĕgaran family, compiled in its present form in the mid-nineteenth century, describes the changes that attended Pakubuwana IV's accession. He was not like his father, says this record. *Kraton* soldiers who liked wearing Dutch uniforms were dismissed and replaced by those who wore Javanese dress. Every Friday the new Susuhunan attended the Great Mosque of Surakarta. He refused to take the Europeans' wine. Pakubuwana IV daily summoned new favorites and dismissed those *kraton* officials who were close to the Dutch and who frequented the VOC fortress. He forbade both the smoking of opium and gambling. The new favorites, meanwhile, were constantly reading the *Qur'ān*. According to this source, the VOC resident (1788–90) Andries Hartsinck, whom the VOC in fact came to distrust greatly after he was discovered going by night in Javanese dress to a secret conference in the *kraton*,[85] intended to study religion under Pakubuwana IV.[86]

Early in 1789, the new Susuhunan began removing senior *kraton* officials and replacing them with his new favorites, collectively known as *santris:* students of religion. This constituted a direct attack on the existing elite of Surakarta. Rumors soon spread that there was also a plot afoot to slaughter all Europeans, which aligned the VOC's interest with that of the displaced Surakarta establishment.

Among the objectives of the *santris* and Pakubuwana IV was the reduction of Yogyakarta to the status of a subsidiary principality under Surakarta, so Mangkubumi's interests were also threatened by these new *santris*. Even Mangkunĕgara I feared their influence and expressed his loyalty to the VOC. In the end, the plots of Pakubuwana IV and his *santris* were believed to be so threatening that Sultan Mangkubumi and

Mangkunĕgara I acted together—for the first time in nearly forty years—to oppose them. The Susuhunan's new circle of advisors were said to have magical powers. A senior religious officer of Surakarta reportedly admonished Pakubuwana IV that their teachings constituted a false doctrine to which he should pay no heed.[87]

As the crisis developed, minor hostilities erupted and Central Java moved closer to civil war. Finally, in November 1790 VOC forces along with troops of Mangkunĕgara I and Mangkubumi—several thousand soldiers in total—surrounded Surakarta. The VOC demanded that the *santris* be handed over. The older elite of Surakarta urged the Susuhunan to give in, which he eventually did on 26 November. The five leading *santris* were surrendered. The VOC took them to their coastal headquarters at Sĕmarang and shipped them toward Batavia and exile. As if to prove their claims to magic powers, however, the stormy winds of that season drove their ship back to Sĕmarang. So they were sent off again, this time by land.

Whence these men came and what they taught remains uncertain. The names of those who were exiled are known: Wiradigda, Panĕngah, Kandhuruwan, Ahmad (or Nur) Saleh, and Bahman. Their names are Javanese and Arabic in origin and tell nothing of interest about them. It is noteworthy, however, that none was called *haji,* so they were unlikely to be bringers of new ideas direct from the Middle East. The same is true of others who were associated with this group in Javanese accounts. Several of the leaders were, however, given the title *kyai,* used in Java for venerated Muslim teachers. There seems little doubt that these *santris* were ethnic Javanese. Referring to the advice given to Pakubuwana IV that these men taught a false doctrine, the Dutch scholar M. L. van Deventer wondered whether they might have been connected to the puritanical Wahhābī movement.[88] But these were men who evidently visited holy grave sites and claimed supernatural powers of a kind that would have been unacceptable to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92). Thirty years ago, I suggested that they might have been village mystics whose doctrines were thought by the Surakarta religious establishment to be non-Islamic or at least nonorthodox Islam by their standards.[89] It is now possible to take this issue a step further.

While the main opposition to Pakubuwana IV's new advisors was evidently less religious than political—for they threatened the interests of the Yogyakarta sultanate, Mangkunĕgara I, and the VOC—religious issues were involved in this crisis. *Babad Mangkubumi*, a Yogyakarta chronicle produced by the future Hamĕngkubuwana II, recorded

denunciations of these men on religious grounds. They were called people of bad reputation who constituted a "plague of devils."[90] There were many others with mystical knowledge (*ngelmu*) greater than that of these teachers, whose doctrines were implied to be "magic which is far from the *shari'a* [religious law] of the Prophet: that which is null and void or forbidden—they make no distinction."[91] According to *Babad Mangkubumi,* Pakubuwana IV sought a way out of the crisis by taking up a religious life. After the VOC demanded that he surrender his advisors, he went to the mosque to reflect. The next day he told his uncle Png. Purbaya (who played a leading role in the resolution of this crisis),

> "Uncle, I truly
> am unable to be king.
>
> "Indeed, I wish to abandon the kingship.
> I intend to become a student of religion [*santri*],
> serving the Almighty
> in this world and in the next."[92]

But Purbaya talked him out of this and shortly took the surrender of the *santris,* whom he then delivered to the VOC.

Among the Javanese works that deal with this crisis is *Wicara kras,* which sheds some light on the doctrines of the king's new advisors. The author of this early-nineteenth-century work—whose identity is not known with certainty—was highly critical of Pakubuwana IV's *santris*:[93]

> . . . Wiradigda
> forgot that he was a commoner,
> and just had to attack, to change the custom [*adat*],
> to destroy the contracts[94] that existed,
> just had to go to war.
> He bragged that he could fly,
> promised that he could leap across
> the river Sala
> and that all the gunpowder in the VOC fortress
> would turn to water.
>
> . . . They told the king
> that, if they just touched it, the VOC fortress
> in Sala would be demolished.[95]

Wicara kras suggests that these men were a deviant group claiming to be from the Shaṭṭariyya *tarekat*. The Shaṭṭāriyya was introduced into Indonesia by the great seventeenth-century Sumatran Ṣūfī Abdurrauf of Singkil. His Javanese pupil Shaikh Abdul Muhyi (1640?–1715) introduced it to West Java, where he established himself at a village called Karang. Hence his mystical teaching was called *ngelmu Karang*. Abdul Muhyi was also a friend of Shaikh Yusuf of Makasar, who dedicated one of his works to him. He was a famed miracle worker, and his grave at Pamijahan remains a powerful holy site today.[96] The author of *Wicara kras* said of the *santris* of 1789–90,

> Entirely hazy was the thinking of those petty
> thieves,
> yet they were accepted in the capital.
> Moreover, their miracles were accepted.
> The mystical science of Karang[97] was done with
> a whirling motion,
> but was not the true mystical science.
> And it could hardly be compared to
> [the teachings of] the former Ki Agĕng
> 'Abdul Muhyi of Karang!
> Their ideas were obscure, entirely willful,
> inviting ruin,
>
> such that they claimed to be descendants of warriors
> but did not care for discomforts,
> just wanting to squat down. . . .[98]

The problem for historical analysis is whether the Surakarta *santris* deviated from prevailing Javanese Shaṭṭāriyya teachings by being more orthodox (by some abstract international standard) or by being less so. It is noteworthy in this context that just in this period renewal movements were growing in Minangkabau (West Sumatra) under the leadership of Shaṭṭāriyya *'ulamā'* along with Naqshabandiyya and Qādiriyya figures.[99] So it is perhaps possible that the Surakarta *santris* were some sort of reformers. Nevertheless, it seems more likely—on the basis of the obviously biased accounts of their enemies, but we have no others—that they deviated from the views of the day in being less committed to orthodoxy. The Javanese sources cited above claimed

that they taught "magic which is far from the *shari'a*." Perhaps in the end we must accept that evidence.

The important point for a study of Islamization in Java is that the religious aspects of the crisis of 1788–90 took place within an indubitably Islamic framework. While the crisis was fundamentally political, religious issues were also present: what it meant to be a proper Muslim, and who taught a true version of Sufism. The conflict rested upon a bedrock of Islamic referents.

The Surakarta *kraton* elite quickly restored their control of the kingdom's political affairs and turned to the inimitable Ratu Pakubuwana—by then dead for nearly sixty years—to help them restore its spiritual aspects. No doubt much else was done in the realms of religion and the supernatural to restore right balance, of which no record survives. It is, however, clear that among these measures was the production of new versions of Ratu Pakubuwana's supernaturally powerful books *Yusuf* and *Iskandar,* which were themselves new versions of works from the time of Sultan Agung, as has been noted.[100] As the next fasting month drew to a close, on a date equivalent to 26 May 1791, scribes at the court began new versions of those two works.

The 1791 versions of *Yusuf* and *Iskandar* are notable both for what they say about their antecedents and for the way they were composed. The writers did not simply recopy the previous works. Rather, they told the same stories but did so with new words and new poetic meters—a re-creation within the confines of the original narratives. This was not a common practice in Javanese literature, where scribes working from an earlier version usually either recopied (with some degree of scribal variation) or retold the inherited story (frequently elaborating). This rather unusual way of handling *Yusuf* and *Iskandar* in 1791 was presumably important to mobilizing their supernatural power.[101]

The opening of the 1791 *Sĕrat Iskandar Dulkarnen* proclaims its origins in Ratu Pakubuwana's redaction and suggests that the late Pakubuwana III himself may have produced this new version.

> . . . That which is beautifully described is
> power and bravery,
>
> a precious book from above the winds,[102]
> the tale of Sultan Iskandar,

done in verse from the Interpretation.[103]
It was Her Highness Ratu Pakubuwana
who produced [*ingkang ayasa*][104] this tale outstanding,
regarded as something left for all her
descendants.
When this was wished to be done

by Her Highness the Ratu grandmother,
it was during the reign of her grandson
Pakubuwana the second,
the king of Kartasura.
He who composed it, now,
was the king Paku-
Buwana the third.[105]

The 1791 *Carita Yusuf,* begun on the same day, also refers to Ratu Pakubuwana's previous creation.

Servants were ordered to copy and to decorate
only, by His Highness,
the possession of His Highness,
to compose the *pusaka* book
Yusuf, which is from the [Arabic] books.
The earlier one who produced [*ingkang ayasa*] this
was Her Highness Ratu Pakubuwana.

It is a precious tale from the Interpretation[106]
turned into Javanese.
It seeks clarification of the screen.[107]
Therefore is written out in verse this
example from the time of the Arabs
of ancient days, His Highness the Prophet Yusuf.
This is regarded as an exercise in worship.[108]

It seems clear from the analysis in chapter 5 that Ratu Pakubuwana's 1729 versions of these books were spiritually potent, and the same was presumably true of the versions begun in Pakubuwana IV's court in May 1791. The closing passage of the 1791 *Carita Yusuf* suggests strongly that the aftermath of the crisis created by Pakubuwana IV's *santris* inspired the new versions, for it contains specific admonitions about choosing spiritual guides with care.

. . . Thus all living people
are obliged to search for mystical knowledge.
Follow many teachers,
be not satisfied and do not reject,
for many are the forms of knowledge.

For in mystical knowledge it is usual
that there is the true and the false,
the exalted and the inferior.
Choose that which is proper.

. . .

There are things which constitute signs
that a person is searching for that mystical
knowledge
which is secret and ultimate.
In manner that person is calm and restrained.
If it is true, speak it not,
and if it is in error,
reject it not.
That which is true and which is the same [?]
Reveal not to new teachers

for they will become confused and
misunderstand;
mystical knowledge will not be taken to the
ultimate,
even though you do this twice or thrice.
Let it all be kept hidden.
For it is the doing of Satan
to be contemptuous of mystical knowledge.
But those who are going to go astray:
them it is obligatory to restrain,
if one can; if one cannot, speak not to them.[109]

So far as is known, the Surakarta courtiers of 1791 did not produce a new version of Ratu Pakubuwana's *Usulbiyah*, but their versions of *Yusuf* and *Iskandar* nevertheless completed a remarkable literary record of Islamization in *kraton* circles. For nearly 160 years, these books had been instrumental in royal efforts to shape Javanese court culture and

identity in more Islamic directions. As seen in chapter 2, *Yusuf*, *Iskandar*, and *Usulbiyah* seem to have been introduced to the Javanese court among the Islamizing steps taken by Sultan Agung in 1633. In the following century, as seen in chapter 5, they were central to Ratu Pakubuwana's efforts to perfect the reign of her grandson Pakubuwana II as the model Ṣūfī king. Now, in the wake of Pakubuwana IV's dallying with *gurus* who seem to have been deviant mystics—which nearly led to the court of Surakarta being attacked by the combined forces of the VOC, Mangkunĕgara I, and Sultan Mangkubumi—the supernatural power of *Yusuf* and *Iskandar* was again mobilized to put things right. I have written elsewhere of Ratu Pakubuwana's literary activity: "In a court troubled by a youthful and apparently incompetent king, she sought to mobilise the supernatural blessing power, the *sawab*, of Islam to perfect the king's reign, to change the course of events and, possibly, to advance the long-term Islamisation of court culture."[110] The same was probably true of those who produced the 1791 version of *Yusuf* and *Iskandar*.

Pakubuwana IV remained a spiritual seeker throughout his reign. A work entitled *Suluk Aspiya*, written after his time, describes his search for the *ngelmu* of kingship first with one Kyai Amat Jamkasari, then with Kyai Minhat, then with the latter's teacher, Ngabdul Masnab Mustapa Sayid Aspiya, and finally with Kyai Sayang. The text opens with a description of Pakubuwana IV as an example from the past, a saint of God (*waliyolah*).[111]

Several mystical and moralistic works are ascribed to Pakubuwana IV, but it is not possible to know with certainty whether he actually composed these poems, whether they were composed by others at his behest, or indeed whether the ascriptions to him are erroneous. For example, a work of mystical doctrines called *Sĕrat wirit* is ascribed to Pakubuwana IV, "who had the qualities of a saint of God," in a MS written in 1931. But another MS from which the 1931 version appears to have been copied lacks the ascription to Pakubuwana IV.[112] A collection of *suluks* in the Surakarta *kraton* includes six works ascribed to Pakubuwana IV, one of them said to have been written by him while he was still crown prince.[113]

The most famous work ascribed to Pakubuwana IV is *Sĕrat wulangreh* (Book of moral teachings), most MSS of which are dated with the Javanese equivalent to February 1809. One version, however, is dated in January 1814.[114] *Wulangreh* admonished its readers to choose their *gurus* with care, and to continue to adhere to the *Dalil*, *Khadis*, *Ijĕmak*,

and *Kiyas*, that is, to the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the four foundations of Islamic law: the *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, *ijmā'* (consensus), and *qiyās* (analogy). It warned that many religious *gurus* of the time were of a low standard, just peddling their teachings to win followers. One should respect and follow the advice of one's elders to avoid disaster. The text described five categories of people to whom one should pay obeisance (*sěmbah*): parents, parents-in-law, elder siblings, true *gurus,* and the king. The king was the representative of the Almighty, so it was one's duty to obey him. Those who did not do so were in rebellion against the Almighty. The four greatest faults were to smoke opium, to gamble, to be an evil person or to be a bad trader who seeks only riches. One was also forbidden to get drunk. One should avoid bad women and not tell secrets to any women, for it was the nature of women—the Almighty's creation as a favor to men—not to keep secrets. The young should constantly ask questions, not being embarrassed to reveal their ignorance, "for from ignorance come the roots of knowledge: only the beloved Prophet was learned without being taught."[115]

Wulangreh insisted on mysticism being pursued within the boundaries of the law:

> As for the mystical knowledge which you employ,
> every day go to your *guru* first,
> and the *shari'a* indeed
> is the necessary accouterment
>
> to mystical knowledge; the *shari'a* is
> the true container,
> and the three knowledges are all contained:
> *shari'a* for the inner and the outer [knowledge].
> Therefore together
> exert yourself in mystical knowledge.[116]

Devotees of mysticism were admonished not to neglect the five daily prayers, indeed not to desert the five pillars of Islam in general, for they are the "exalted accouterments" for life in this world.

The Mangkunĕgaran diary referred to above recorded that Pakubuwana IV was assiduous in carrying out his faith. As a young monarch, he "never failed to attend the Friday worship; every Friday he appeared."[117] He presided over the implementation of Qur'anic punishments:

> On Monday His Highness the King of Sala
> amputated two people,
> chopping highway robbers.
> Their hands and feet were cut off:
> the right hand and the left foot.
> On Tuesday he broke in horses. . . .[118]

Before we conclude that Pakubuwana IV became a paragon of Ṣūfī orthodoxy after his initial brush with the group of *santris,* however, it is necessary to consider his later dalliance with the religious observances of Indian Hindus. Pakubuwana IV was as interested in political intrigue as he was in mysticism, but he seems to have been significantly less adept at the former. The British takeover of Java in the period 1811–16, a consequence of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, gave him two new opportunities to attempt to establish the supremacy of Surakarta over Yogyakarta, which had been his main objective in the plots of 1788–90.[119] The first was at the time of the British conquest in 1811–12. He corresponded secretly with Hamĕngkubuwana II, encouraging the sultan to resist the British by promises of Surakarta support. These promises were, however, duplicitous. The *kraton* of Yogyakarta was stormed by British forces in June 1812, leading to the plundering of the court, the deposition and exile of Hamĕngkubuwana II, and the installation of his brother as the first independent prince Pakualam I (r. 1813–29), and of his son as Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana III (r. 1810–11, 1812–14). This completed the quadripartite partition of the Central Java principalities among the Susuhunan, the sultan, the Mangkunĕgaran, and the Pakualaman. Unfortunately for Pakubuwana IV, his secret correspondence with Yogyakarta was discovered. The British lieutenant-governor of Java, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, nearly resolved to depose him as well, but decided instead to annex substantial territories.[120]

Pakubuwana IV's next opportunity for plotting arose as the British occupation was drawing to a close. The British interim administration brought Indian sepoys to Java for the first time, many of them from high-caste Hindu families. They found their conditions in Java not entirely acceptable. By 1814, with rising expectations that Java would be handed back to the Dutch and fears among the sepoys that the British would leave them behind in Dutch service, a mutiny began to be plotted. The ringleaders were among the sepoys stationed at the court cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. They were successful in building connections

with members of the Javanese elite who were especially anti-European in attitude. In particular, they successfully cultivated the favor of Pakubuwana IV, who evidently saw this as yet another—indeed, his last and most unlikely—chance to overthrow the existing order in Central Java and restore Surakarta to primacy. Had the sepoy mutiny actually succeeded, there is a considerable likelihood that, after killing the Europeans, the sepoys would have disposed of Pakubuwana IV, but things never went that far.

The extensive Hindu-Buddhist antiquities in Central Java evidently encouraged the sepoys to use religion as a channel to Pakubuwana IV's favor. They honored him on the basis of a putative shared Hindu ancestry. The Susuhunan responded positively. He lent them Hindu-Javanese statues in the *kraton*'s possession and himself attended the sepoys' Hindu ceremonies, usually disguised as a commoner. He also gave them money and other gifts.

What all of this meant to the mercurial Pakubuwana IV is impossible to say. Was he really attracted to the Hinduism of the sepoys, and if so, did he understand it to be a form of faith that could be fitted within the capacious container of Javanese Sufism? Perhaps he recalled the argument of Kětib Anom in *Sĕrat Cabolek* that the Hindu-Javanese works *Bima Suci*, *Arjunawiwāha,* and *Rāmāyaṇa* were works of *taṣawwuf*, that all of this was capable of absorption within the orthodoxy of Javanese Sufism.[121] Or perhaps Pakubuwana IV just thought that here again was a chance to plot against the Europeans and Yogyakarta, and a few Hindu rituals were neither here nor there.

The answer will never be known, for the sepoy conspiracy was discovered by the British in 1815 and the ringleaders were arrested, seventeen being shot by firing squad and some fifty sent back to Bengal in chains. Raffles warned the Susuhunan against any further plots, arrested his younger brother, who had been the principal intriguer, and ordered Pakubuwana IV to surrender his administrative authority to the crown prince. Mangkunĕgara II (r. 1796–1835) had supported the British and urged them to depose Pakubuwana IV, but to no avail.[122]

Pakubuwana IV attempted no more quixotic or murderous plots until the last months of his life, in 1820, when he attempted to repudiate his agreements with Batavia, without success.[123] In the meantime he may have devoted himself principally to admonishing others to right behavior and pious thoughts.

#

The materials considered in this chapter, limited as they are to the elite, nevertheless reflect the firm establishment of Islam as the core religious element of Javanese identity by the end of the eighteenth century. There was significant individual variety to be seen, as one might expect of a mature, well-established social identity. This was, however, a variety of belief and practice that occurred within the boundaries of an Islamic community.

By this time, the Javanese elite appear to have achieved a degree of consensus about the religious elements of their common identity, concerning which little contest is evident in the surviving records. Except for the crisis of 1788–90, no significant religious controversy appears to have occurred in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This dominant mode of identity was self-consciously Islamic, yet recognized indigenous spiritual forces.

It is possible to test this dominant mode of Islamic identity by considering the place of two autochthonous spirits, Ratu Kidul (the Goddess of the Southern Ocean) and Sunan Lawu. These appear to be very old spirit forces in Java, probably of pre-Islamic provenance, and one would expect that promoters of Islamic orthodoxy, orthopraxy, and identity might deny their reality. In this context it is significant that Ratu Pakubuwana's *Usulbiyah* of 1729–30, which features characters from the sacred history of Islam but is thoroughly Javanese in inspiration and style, had no role for Ratu Kidul.[124] We may suppose that this was also true of the *Usulbiyah* text of 1633 from Sultan Agung's time. *Suluk Garwa Kancana,* which is known only in a Ratu Pakubuwana MS, is very important here as well. It represents a Ṣūfī concept of Javanese kingship associated with Sultan Agung, perhaps even being the lessons in kingship that he was said to have received from the spirit of the *wali* Sunan Bayat in 1633.[125] It, too, rests entirely on Ṣūfī ideas and makes no reference to indigenous Javanese spiritual forces. So we may take mystical Islamic reformers who ignored Ratu Kidul and Sunan Lawu as one end of the religious continuum in Java, represented by Ratu Pakubuwana.

If Ratu Pakubuwana saw no place for the Goddess of the Southern Ocean and Sunan Lawu, others did. As noted in chapter 5, after the disastrous loss of his *kraton* to rebel forces in 1742, Pakubuwana II is said to have turned to Sunan Lawu for supernatural support. According to the Surakarta Major *Babad,* the appearance of this giant spirit led Ratu Pakubuwana's former protégé, the quondam

Ṣufī king, to say to himself, "This is difficult, I think. Is this the assistance of the All-Disposing? For it is a spirit that has come." But then he concluded that "there is nothing which is forbidden to serve as a means of [divine] grace," and accepted Sunan Lawu's magical support.[126]

The Javanese elite of the later eighteenth century seem to have inherited from Ratu Pakubuwana and the Islamizing clique of Kartasura a strong commitment to Islam, but they admitted to it indigenous Javanese spirits of whom she might well have disapproved. Thus the most demonstrably pious member of that elite, Mangkunĕgara I, seems to have believed in the reality of Sunan Lawu and Ratu Kidul. When the crown prince of Yogyakarta composed the supernaturally powerful *Surya Raja,* he introduced the Goddess of the Southern Ocean as a spirit force subordinate to God. The reality of the Goddess and Sunan Lawu was not, it seems, challenged by any reform movements in later-eighteenth-century Java.

Thus was achieved, across a range of individual religious styles, a dominant mode of elite Islamic culture in Java. This was no primordially determined synthesis but was rather historically contingent. It was the fruit of two major pulses of Islamization—those of Sultan Agung in the seventeenth century and Ratu Pakubuwana and her followers in the eighteenth. Since the mid-eighteenth century, it had been stretched in terms of its religious content by the admission of indigenous beliefs about the spiritual. Thus was created an orthodoxy from which the old Ratu herself might have dissented.

A Javanese of the later eighteenth century—at least a member of the courtly elite, about whom alone we have relevant evidence—was a Muslim mystic, indeed sometimes a very devout and committed Ṣufī. He or she might find in Islam not only the five pillars and the law, which were the proper container for mystical thought, but also support for anti-*kāfir* sentiments and actions. But a Javanese Muslim need not doubt that Sunan Lawu, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, and all manner of other indigenous spirit forces were as real as God's final message to humankind through the *Qur'ān*. Reconciliation of contradictory ideas could take place in the obscure idiom of Javanese mysticism, which allowed great variety of belief and practice within the boundaries of Java's mystic synthesis. In the following chapter the full flowering of this dominant mode of identity in the early nineteenth century will be seen.

Notes

[1] For an excellent, broad-ranging analysis of Central Java in this period, see Peter Carey, "Waiting for the 'Just King': The Agrarian World of South-Central Java from Giyanti (1755) to the Java War (1825–30)," *MAS* vol. 20, pt. 1 (Feb. 1986), pp. 59–137.

[2] For a general account of the years from Mangkubumi's rebellion to his death in 1792, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*. Unless otherwise noted, the narrative in this chapter rests upon that work.

[3] P. 117 in this volume.

[4] *Cabolek* (1885), pp. 81–91. Summarized in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 155–59.

[5] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 39–46. For previous episodes when Mangkubumi left the court, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 307–8, 315–16.

[6] G. W. van der Meiden, "A Turkish Negotiator Between Mangkubumi and the Dutch East India Company (1753–1754)," *RIMA* vol. 15, no. 2 (1981), pp. 92–107; Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 59.

[7] *BG* vol. XIV, pp. 61 et seq.; C. Poensen, "Mangkubumi. Ngajogyakarta's eerste Sultan. (Naar aanleiding van een Javaansch handschrift)," *BKI* vol. 52 (1901), pp. 263–64.

[8] Described in Ricklefs, "Early Inspirational Experience," pp. 241–44, with reference to BL add. MS 12308, *Sĕrat babad*; *Cĕn.* 284:24–50; C. F. Winter Sr., J. J. B. Gaal, and T. Roorda (eds.), *Het boek Adji Såkå: Oude fabelachtige geschiedenis van Java, van de regering van vorst Sindoela tot aan de stichting van Mådjå-pait door vorst Soesoeroeh* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1857). The name derives from *Rūm*, the Arabic term for the Eastern Roman Empire at Byzantium; hence it was used for Constantinople, Istanbul, Turkey, and the Ottoman sultanate.

[9] Van den Meiden, "A Turkish Mediator," pp. 103–5; van den Meiden, "Een Turks plan om Nederlands-Indië in Franse handen te doen overgaan," *Nederlands Archievenblad* vol. 80 (1976), pp. 26–28.

[10] The Pĕngulu of Yogyakarta from c. 1755 to 1798 was named Pĕkih Ibrahim, also known as Dipaningrat I, but if this was the Turkish Ibrahim rather than a Javanese, one might expect some source (Javanese or Dutch) to report that, yet (to the best of my knowledge), none does so. See P. B. R. Carey (ed.), *The Archive of Yogyakarta: An Edition of Javanese Reports, Letters and Land Grants from the Yogyakarta Court Dated Between A.J. 1698 and A.J. 1740 (1772–1813) Taken from Materials in the British Library and the India Office Library (London)*, vol. I: *Documents Relating to Politics and Internal Court Affairs*, Oriental Documents III (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1980), p. 194.

[11] Van den Meiden, "A Turkish Mediator," pp. 105–7.

[12] See pp. 50–51 in this volume; Levtzion and Voll, *Eighteenth-Century Renewal*, pp. 6–20; Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," pp. 242–43. But see also O'Fahey and Radtke, "Neo-Sufism Reconsidered."

[13] Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," p. 489 et seq.

[14] Ibid., pp. 525–26.

[15] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, vol. I, p. 14, estimates up to 4 million as the population of all of Java in 1600 and 5 million in 1800; if one deducts perhaps 1 million for Sundanese-speakers, then 3 or 4 million would be a maximum

for Javanese-speakers. The history of Java's population is a vexed subject, handicapped by thoroughly inadequate documentation before the twentieth century. Some of the early complexities are explored in M. C. Ricklefs, "Some Statistical Evidence on Javanese Social, Economic and Demographic History in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *MAS* vol. 20, no. 1 (Feb. 1986), pp. 1–32.

[16] *BG* vol. II, pp. 51–52. A date equivalent to 14 Feb. 1747 is given in ibid., p. 53. R. T. Yudanagara later became the outstanding first *patih* of Yogyakarta, Danurĕja I (1755–99).

[17] *BG* vol. VIII, pp. 65, 69.

[18] Given by the monarch in marriage as a mark of royal favor, a common practice in Javanese courts.

[19] *BG* vol. I, p. 62.

[20] See p. 133 in this volume.

[21] *BG* vol. 21, pp. 84–86.

[22] See the list of MSS in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 343–44 n. 29.

[23] *B.Mang.*, p. 384. This chronicle was evidently one of the literary products of the Yogyakarta crown prince, later Sultan Hamĕnkubuwana II, who was also married at this time; see M. C. Ricklefs, "On the Authorship of Leiden Cod.Or. 2191, Babad Mangkubumi," *BKI* vol. 127, no. 2 (1971), pp. 264–73.

[24] Van Rhijn, Beschrijving, 21 Feb. 1780, f. 9v; in KITLV H97, [Memoriën over de] Javaansche hoven, 1773 en volgende jaren. See also the report by van Ijsseldijk, Korte schets 1799, f. 43, referring to the elderly Sultan Hamĕnkubuwana I calling his young grandson to him to give him lessons in Javanese history and "to read out old history books."

[25] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 29 Dec. 1788, in VOC 3862 (OB 1790); also 14 March 1789, in VOC 3861 (OB 1790); 27 Feb. 1790, in VOC 3908 (OB 1791). On the return to Yogyakarta, see P. B. R. Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara and the Making of the Java War," D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1975, vol. I, p. 76 n. 2.

[26] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 134.

[27] *Ngindhung kaum*, religious who were free of royal taxation and corvée obligations, who looked after holy graves or ran religious schools (*pĕsantren*).

[28] *Cis*, a long walking staff with a metal point, a mark of clerical status.

[29] *B.Mang.*, p. 399.

[30] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 209, 211. On the century cycle more generally, see ibid., pp. 176–87; or Ricklefs, "Time and Time Again in Java," *History Today* vol. 49 no. 10 (October 1999), pp. 34–41.

[31] The antecedent in the text is not unambiguously clear, but I believe it must refer to the Crown prince. The only alternative would be for it to refer to *Surya Raja* itself, which seems improbable.

[32] The Javanese text has *sifat Jalalolah, Jamalolah, Kamalolah, Kaharolah lan sifat, Kodrat Iradat Ngelmu, Hayat, Samak, Basar, Kalam, Wahdaniyat.*

[33] *Kangjĕng Kyai Surya Raja*, vol. 1, p. 2. Full text and translation in Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 196–97.

[34] For a more detailed summary, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 196–207.

[35] Javanese troops performed various dances in which weapons were used, e.g., the lance dance and the arrow dance, which constituted a form of military drill as well as entertainment.

[36] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, 204–5.

[37] M. C. Ricklefs, "A Note on Professor Johns's 'Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet,'" *BKI* vol. 129, nos. 2–3 (1973), pp. 347–49. For further information on R. Ay. Danukusuma's tragic life, during which both her husband and her son were murdered at the behest of HB II, see Peter Carey (ed.), *The British in Java, 1811–16: A Javanese Account,* Oriental Documents X (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1992), pp. 157, 342–43, 489 nn. 424–25.

[38] A. H. Johns (ed. and transl.), *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet,* Oriental Monograph Series no. 1 (Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, Australian National University, 1965). See also Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," p. 258.

[39] The translation is mine. For Javanese texts and translations, which differ somewhat both from mine and from each other, see Johns, *Gift,* pp. 34–35; P. J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme en monisme in de Javaansche soeloek-litteratuur* (Nijmegen: J. J. Berkhout, 1935), pp. 124–26; or the English edition of the latter, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesia Setting,* ed. and transl. M. C. Ricklefs, KITLV Translation Series 24 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), pp. 110–12.

[40] Johns, *Gift,* pp. 215–16.

[41] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXI, pp. 28–29; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 18.

[42] *BTJ(BP)* vol. XXI, pp. 55–59, 68–69; vol. XXII, p. 14; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 167, 170.

[43] *BTJ(BP)* vol.XXX, p. 15–21; Batavia to H. XVIII 31 Dec. 1743, in dJ IX, p. 430: Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 305. See also the version in Rinkes, "Heiligen IV," pp. 505–9, 563–73; or the English translation of the latter in Rinkes, *Nine Saints,* pp. 117–20.

[44] *BG* vol. II, p. 40.

[45] Hartingh, Memorie 26 Oct. 1761, in dJ X, p. 363.

[46] Van Straalendorff to Sĕmarang, 14 March 1772, in VOC 3364 (OB 1773).

[47] Sĕmarang to Batavia, 30 April 1772, in VOC 3364 (OB 1773).

[48] Genealogy supplied by R. Ay. Hilmiyah Darmawan Poncowolo.

[49] *Serat Wahanabrata*: MN B110, pp. 110–11; MN O72, pp. 16–17.

[50] *BTJ(BP)* vol. VII, p. 47; IOL Jav. 36 (A), f. 135v.

[51] *BK* ff. 504r.-v.; *BTJ(BP)* vol. XVI, pp. 40–41. For a text and translation, see Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy,* pp. 131–32.

[52] There are two versions of the diary extant. KITLV Or. 231 covers AJ 1707–18 (AD 1780–91); summaries are available in KITLV Or. 232 and MN B29a (Florida MN 696.1); a typed transcription is MN B29b (Florida MN 696.2). SB PB. A.99 covers AJ 1715–20 (AD 1788–93). The work is called variously *Babad Nitik Mangkunagaran, Babad Nitik Samběrnyawa,* or *Babad Tutur*. The KITLV/MN version is the basis for discussion in Ann Kumar, "Javanese Court Society and Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Indonesia* no. 29 (Apr. 1980), pp. 1–46; no. 30 (Oct. 1980), pp. 67–111; and in Zainuddin Fananie, *Pandangan dunia KGPAA Hamengkoenagoro I dalam babad tutur: Sebuah restrukturisasi budaya* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 1994).

[53] Kumar, "Javanese Court Society," pt. 1, pp. 12–16. Also summarised in Ann Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe: Ambiguous Encounters* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997), pp. 57–60.

[54] SB PB. A.99, p. 156.

[55] Ibid., p. 163.

[56] P. 134 in this volume.

[57] KITLV Or. 231, pp. 194 left-right (this MS is numbered only on the left-hand side of each opening of two pp.). Text and Indonesian translation in Fananie, *Pandangan dunia*, p. 244.

[58] *BG* vol. V, p. 28.

[59] *Sějarah wiwit Nabi Adam dumugi ratu-ratu tanah Jawi,* MN 192, pp. 1–9.

[60] Ibid., pp. 9–30. On the exile of Mankuněgara I's father, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 17–21.

[61] The Salatiga conference, where a formal peace settlement among PB III, MN I, and the VOC was achieved, subsequently took place in March 1757; Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 92.

[62] *Sějarah wiwit Nabi Adam*, MN 192, pp. 30–38.

[63] Ibid., p. 38.

[64] Ibid., pp. 151–52.

[65] Ibid., p. 158.

[66] See p. 127 in this volume.

[67] P. Voorhoeve in Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. I, p. 92. See also Drewes, *Directions*, pp. 222–24.

[68] Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," pp. 490–501, 532–43, 551–57; quote from p. 532.

[69] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 150–54; G. W. J. Drewes, "Further Data Concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī"; *BKI* vol. 132, nos. 2–3 (1976), pp. 267–73; Peter Carey, "Satria and Santri: Some Notes on the Relationship Between Dipanegara's Kraton and Religious Supporters During the Java War (1825–30)," in Ibrahim Alfian et al. (eds.), *Dari babad dan hikayat sampai sejarah kritis: Kumpulan karangan dipersembahkan kepada Prof. Dr Sartono Kartodirdjo* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1987), p. 314.

[70] *Qur'ān* 8:64–66.

[71] *Qur'ān* 2:154; 3:169–71; 47:4–6.

[72] *Qur'ān* 2:190–93.

[73] An intriguing reference. The VOC documentation makes it clear that these letters came from 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, yet here Seh Muḥammad is said to be the author. One possibility is that the letter was actually composed by 'Abd al-Ṣamad's teacher in Mecca, Muḥammad al-Sammān (d. 1776), who founded the Samaniyya Ṣūfī order. The Dutch did not recognise the importance of 'Abd al-Ṣamad or of figures such as Muḥammad al-Sammān, so undertook no further investigations. As a young Ph.D. student writing the thesis that became *Mangkubumi,* nor did I. When the inevitable correction came from Drewes ("Further Data") I was fortunate that it was gentle. But I do not agree with Drewes that the principal purpose of those letters was merely to act as introductions for the people carrying them. Nor does Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," p. 556.

[74] "Abdul Ragman," Mecca, to "Pangerang Pacoe Nagarra," Dutch translation, 22 May 1772, in Sěmarang to Batavia, 3 June 1772, in VOC 3364 (OB 1773). The letters to HB I and PB III are "Palembangar Samat," Mecca, to "Sulthan in de Mattaram'; and "Palembangar Abdul Samat," Mecca, to "Soesoehoenang Praboedjoko te Solocarta," Dutch translations as above. A slightly different English translation is offered in Drewes, "Further Data," pp. 271–72.

[75] Carey, "Satria and Santri," p. 314.

[76] *Sĕrat suluk jaman karaton-dalĕm ing Surakarta.* Surakarta *kraton* MS 244 Na. For a description, see Nancy K. Florida, *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1993–), vol. I, pp. 260–64. The account here rests upon Florida's typescript transliteration of the MS.

[77] Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and monism/Pantheisme,* ch. 9.

[78] *Sĕrat suluk*, Surakarta *kraton* MS 244 Na, pp. 37–38.

[79] For a general account of the years 1789–90, upon which the following discussion is based, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi,* Ch. 9. The period is discussed also in Kumar, "Javanese Court Society," pt. 2.

[80] Palm to Sĕmarang, 24 April 1787; Sĕmarang to Batavia, 26 April 1787; in VOC 3763 (OB 1788).

[81] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi,* pp. 287–88.

[82] Ibid., p. 297.

[83] The letters exist only in Dutch translation, as appendices to Sĕmarang to Batavia, 1 Jan 1788, in VOC 3816 (OB 1789).

[84] Regarding sources for this crisis, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi,* p. 315 n. 73. For a general account, see ibid., pp. 314–40. See also Kumar, "Javanese Court Society," pt. 2.

[85] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi,* p. 317.

[86] *Sĕrat babad Panambangan* MN B 18a, pp. 14–15. It may be noted, in contrast to PB IV's refusal to take wine, that this source says (p. 24) that when the VOC invited MN I to have a drink, he immediately requested Dutch gin (*jenewĕre*, Dutch *jenever*), several glasses of which were promptly downed.

[87] Hartsinck to Sĕmarang, 26 July 1789, in VOC 3862 (OB 1790); Batavia to H. XVII, 15 Oct. 1789, in dJ XII, pp. 166–67.

[88] In dJ XII, pp. xix–xxii.

[89] Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi,* pp. 332–33.

[90] *B.Mang.*, p. 485.

[91] Ibid., pp. 522–23.

[92] Ibid., pp. 520–22.

[93] Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi* (Djakarta: Djambatan, 1964), p. 147, ascribes the work to Yasadipura II of Surakarta, reflecting Javanese literary tradition, but there is no evidence in the MSS to confirm the ascription. The text was clearly composed after the death of Danurĕja I in 1799, for he is referred to as "Danurĕja the first," indicating that at least a second *patih* of that name had already succeeded him (NBS 8–9 [vii], p. 185). The work itself is dated at the end (ibid., p. 195) with a date equivalent to 4 April 1817.

[94] I.e., the VOC-Surakarta-Yogyakarta agreements and treaties.

[95] *Wulang wicara kĕras* NBS 89 (vii), pp. 164–65.

[96] D. A. Rinkes, "De heiligen van Java, I: De maqām van Sjech 'Abdoelmoehji," *TBG* vol. 52 (1910), pp. 556–89 (English ed. pp. 1–12); Werner Kraus, "An Enigmatic Saint: Syekh Abdulmuhyi of Pamijahan (?1640–1715?)," *Indonesian Circle* no. 65 (Mar. 1995), pp. 21–31; Nabilah Lubis in Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari, *Menyingkap intisari segala rahasia,* ed. and transl. Nabilah Lubis (Bandung: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, École Français d'Extrême-Orient, Penerbit Mizan, 1996), pp. 26–27. See also Claude Guillot and Henri Chambert-Loir, "Indonésie," in Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Guillot (eds.), *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman* (Paris: École Français d'Extrême-Orient, 1995), p. 243. On associations

between Pamijahan and 'Abd al-Qa-dir al-Jīlānī, see Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al Qâdir al-Jîlânî and the Qâdiriyya in Indonesia," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 2000, nos. 1–2, pp. 369–70.

[97] On *ngelmu Karang*, see Th. Pigeaud, *Javaanse volksvertoningen: Bijdragen tot de beschrijving van land en volk* (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1938), pp. 234, 298.

[98] *Wicara Kras* NBS 89 (vii), p. 167. Also found (with some variations) in other copies of this work: NBS 87 (ii), p. 69; NBS 88 (vi), p. 231; SB 127(2), f. 93v. NBS 88 (vii) is summarized (without referring to the passages quoted here) in Ann Kumar, "Java: A Self-Critical Examination of the Nation and Its History," in Anthony Reid (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), pp. 328–33.

[99] Azra, "Transmission of Islamic Reformism," pp. 560–64.

[100] Pp. 43–45, 104, 108 in this volume.

[101] See further Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 94–101.

[102] I.e., from outside the Malay-Indonesian area, which was regarded as being "below the winds."

[103] *Tĕpsir* = *tafsir*. See p. 144 n. 9 in this volume.

[104] On this important concept of *ingkang ayasa*, see further p. 144 n. 10 in this volume, and Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 31–36.

[105] SB PB A. 257, pp. 1–2. Text, translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 31–36. Text also in Alex Sudewa, *Dari Kartasura ke Surakarta*, vol. I: *Studi kasus Serat Iskandar* (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Studi Asia, Bidang Studi Jawa, 1995), p. 140. Other MS copies of this work are in Surakarta *kraton* 175 Na and LOr 1805.

[106] *Tapsir*. See p. 144 n. 9 in this volume.

[107] *Tarik:* a partition, screen or curtain of woven bamboo, etc., such as is hung on the side of an open partition. I.e., a metaphor for the mystical screen between the seen and unseen worlds. Or, less likely, an allusion to the *ḥadith* that seventy thousand veils of light and darkness separate God from humankind.

[108] SB PB A.266, pp. 1–2. Text, translation, and notes in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 93–94. Another copy of this text is in LOr 1802.

[109] SB PB A. 266, pp. 273–74. Parts of this passage are rather obscure. For text, translation, and notes, see Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 101–2.

[110] *Seen and Unseen Worlds*, pp. 90–91.

[111] *Suluk Aspiya* MN A67. A summary and analysis of this MS, which sees it as a critical satire on PB IV, is in Edwin Wieringa, "Another Document from the Funeral Pyre: The *Suluk Aspiya* or *Suluk Éndracatur* by Radèn Mas Atmasutirta," pp. 225–33 in Paul van der Velde and Alex McKay (eds.), *New Developments in Asian Studies* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998).

[112] The 1931 MS is Surakarta *kraton* MS 371 Ha. The original from which it appears to have been copied is Surakarta *kraton* MS 546 Ha. There are also some other minor scribal variants between the two.

[113] *Sĕrat suluk jaman karaton-dalĕm ing Surakarta*, Surakarta *Kraton* MS 244 Na, pp. 38–80. Other works ascribed to PB IV may be located via the index of writers in Florida, *Surakarta MSS*, vol. I. See also Pakubuwana IV, *Cipto waskitho: Ngelmu mystik terapan*, transl. Ki Hudoyo Doyodipuro (Sĕmarang: Dahara Prize, 1997).

[113] Because of its ongoing popularity, there are several MSS and printed versions

of *Wulangreh*. MSS may be sought in the standard catalogues of Javanese MSS (listed in the bibliography of this volume). A brief discussion with some relevant references is in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 103 n. 222. The summary of the text given here is based upon Pakubuwana IV, *Serat Wulangreh,* 3rd printing (Sĕmarang: Dahara Prize, 1994); the Indonesian translation that accompanies this version is not always reliable.

[115] *Wulangreh* canto X:22.

[116] Ibid., X:25–26.

[117] *Babad Nitik Samběrnyawa* SB PB A.99, p. 166.

[118] Ibid., p. 418. This punishment rests upon *Qur'ān* 5:38 and is thus classified as *ḥadd,* "punishment of certain acts which have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the *Qur'ān,*" including unlawful sexual intercourse, false accusations of the former, consumption of wine, and highway robbery; Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* vol. III, pp. 20–21.Capital punishment was also, of course, common in Yogyakarta; see Carey, *British in Java,* pp. 472–73 n. 347.

[119] See Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia,* pp. 147–48.

[120] Ibid., p. 149.

[121] P. 116 in this volume.

[122] For an authoritative account of this episode, see P. B. R. Carey, "The Sepoy Conspiracy of 1815 in Java," *BKI* vol. 133, nos. 2–3 (1977), pp. 294–322.

[123] Ibid., p. 322 n. 119.

[124] See pp. 109–15 in this volume or Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 62–91.

[125] See pp. 47–49 in this volume; full text and translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 115–21.

[126] See p. 135–38 in this volume; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 277–85.

Chapter 7

The Mystic Synthesis

Sĕrat Cĕnthini *and Prince Dipanagara*

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, a monumental work of Javanese literature was written that sheds valuable light on the place of Islam in Javanese society. This is commonly known as *Sĕrat Cĕnthini*, although other titles are also used for various sections of the text. *Cĕnthini* is one of the larger works of Javanese literature, containing something over 200,000 lines of verse.[1] While *Cĕnthini* is frequently referred to by Javanese aficionados and scholars of Javanese culture as an encyclopedic source on Javanese society, few Javanese have ever read it all. Probably no non-Javanese, with the possible exception of Th. Pigeaud, has ever done so. In 1933 Pigeaud published a summary of the work's contents that remains the best guide to *Cĕnthini*.[2] Not until 1986–92 was a full text—all 722 cantos—published. This great contribution to Javanese studies was made by Kamajaya (H. Karkono Partokusumo), based on a MS held in the Surakarta *kraton,* where the work was originally composed. It is the Kamajaya text that is referred to here.[3]

Sĕrat Cĕnthini was written on behalf of the future Susuhunan Pakubuwana V (r. 1820–23) of Surakarta while he was still crown prince under his mercurial father Pakubuwana IV, who featured in the previous chapter. The work was begun on a Javanese date equivalent to 7 or 8 January 1815.[4]

Problems of interpretation attend the work. It begins with the Islamization of Java, but most of it is a series of adventures set in the time of Sultan Agung. At the end, it refers to the reign and death of Agung's tyrannical son and successor Amangkurat I (r. 1646–77).[5] It is not known to what extent the nineteenth-century version contains stories originally recorded two hundred years before the time of its writing, or is instead a nineteenth-century reimagining of the seventeenth century. One of *Cĕnthini*'s great virtues is its extensive descriptions of life outside *kraton*

circles, but it remains a moot point whether these are versions of genuine seventeenth-century accounts, pictures of nineteenth-century society anachronistically placed in a seventeenth-century setting, nineteenth-century imaginings of the seventeenth century, courtiers' imaginings of life in the countryside (of whatever century), or a mix of all these.[6] In other words, are we dealing with a sort of Javanese sociological account (of either the seventeenth or nineteenth century) or a work of Javanese fiction? Should we take *Cĕnthini*'s account of life in the Javanese countryside any more literally than we do the encounter between Jesus and Muḥammad in *Usulbiyah* or the conversion of the Europeans to Islam in *Surya Raja*?

In this study of Islamization in Java, some of the interpretive problems surrounding *Cĕnthini* may, fortunately, be avoided. We may reasonably assume that the content of the 1815 text, whether sociology or fiction, whether about the seventeenth century or the nineteenth, presented a picture of Javanese society that was explicable to the crown prince and courtiers of 1815. It is not necessary to imagine that they would have approved of everything depicted in the work. Some parts—notably the multiple sexual adventures (both heterosexual and homosexual) that take up much of the latter part of *Cĕnthini*—may have been less descriptive in purpose than vicariously entertaining. But the picture of the role of Islam in Javanese society was presumably understandable in early-nineteenth-century Surakarta *kraton* circles.

As Pigeaud observes, Islamic legal and ritual functionaries—*pĕngulus* and suchlike—are generally depicted comically, while mystical *kyais* are treated with great respect in *Cĕnthini*.[7] This reflects the dominant mode of mystic synthesis that, this book has argued, had emerged in Javanese society by the later eighteenth century. As will be seen below, the religious teachings in the earlier part of *Cĕnthini* still operate within the general idea of requiring Ṣūfī adepts to adhere to the religious law. Thus Pigeaud's view of 1933 that *Cĕnthini* was taking sides "in the eternal struggle between the old and the new" in religion, that it was supporting "old-fashioned Javanistic speculation . . . against the more orthodox profession of Islam with complete submission to the law,"[8] seems anachronistic. That struggle was in full swing in 1933, but so far as is presently known it was not in 1815. It is important to note, however, that *Cĕnthini* does change character as it goes along. Everywhere the book reflects a synthesis, an Islamic Javanese identity, but religion

gives way to heroic adventures (sexual and otherwise) as the dominant theme of the latter part of the book.

Soebardi observed that the teachings that are embedded in the heroes' adventures in *Cĕnthini* reveal substantial knowledge of major works of Islamic literature. These include works of Sunni jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology as well as commentaries on the *Qur'ān*. With regard to Sufism, teachings in the text refer to, inter alia, the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and the *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī ma'rifat al-Awākhir wa'l-i Awā'il* of the fifteenth-century author 'Abd al-Karim b. Ibrāhim al-Jīlī. Soebardi noted also the rather different character of the latter part of the *Cĕnthini*, where the heroes' conduct is much less constrained by the law.[9]

Zoetmulder's analysis of *Cĕnthini* passages is indispensable. He classified them variously within his analytical framework of Javanese-Islamic mysticism. Some reflected what he called radical monism, with its union of God, the world, and the mystic. One such passage, for example, emphasizes the union of *kawula* (servant) and *gusti* (lord):

> This is the mixing of servant and lord.
> They are one in essence and one in attributes,
> one in works.[10]

Or again,

> . . . The ultimate truth of mystical knowledge is this:
> the essence of God is our essence,
> God's attributes are our attributes,
>
> God's names are our names,
> God's works are our works.
> All spirits and
> angels and the accursed devil:
> indeed, we are everything that exists
> in the skies, upon earth and in the underworld,
> all that is below and all above.[11]

An Islamic spirituality permeates the whole of *Cĕnthini*, although the later parts of the text are notably less pious in tone. Days are commonly divided by the times for prayers. The heroes' adventures are regularly punctuated by the call to prayer, by *dhikr*, and by attendance at the

mosque, as well as by repeated episodes of mystical instruction. The importance of observing the law is emphasized at several points. As an example, one of the central characters, Mas Cabolang, teaches on the basis of the *Sharī'a*:

> "I inform you truly, without falsehood,
> of the instructions of *sharī'a* law,
> taught by the *Qur'ān*
> the *ḥadith*, consensus [*ijmā'*], and analogy
> [*qiyās*].[12]
> For the doings which bring
> benefit are indeed those
> which truly carry out what
> is made obligatory by the *sharī'a*.
>
> "And those [doings] which are made meritorious
> by the *sharī'a*
> are to avoid all that which is forbidden,
> which will cause injustice
> to yourself
> and to others.
> The ultimate of mystical knowledge and the
> *sharī'a* is
> to understand all knowledge about
> the laws and the *sharī'a*:
>
> "the rules and commands
> which are clear from the Lord Allah,
> handed down via the prophets,
> and via the Lord Prophet who is Exalted.
> Now, it is only that
> to which my understanding reaches.
> Whether it is true or false, I leave to you."
> Pleased were those who heard.[13]

As noted in the previous chapter, the dominant mode of mystic synthesis in Java admitted indigenous spiritual forces, and so did *Cĕnthini*. The Goddess of the Southern Ocean is mentioned early. The mystic Ki Crita from Lodhaya, south of Mt. Kĕlut toward the southern coast, tells one of *Cĕnthini*'s central characters that he is visited annually by the goddess Kangjĕng Nyai Rara Kidul.[14] So far as I am aware, however,

Javanese *wayang* Puppet: here the character Gathotkaca, made by Sultan Hamengkubuwana VIII (1921–39) of Yogyakarta

Sunan Lawu does not make an appearance, although the text does describe a visit to Mt. Lawu and the Hindu-Javanese antiquities there.[15]

One of the most characteristic of pre-Islamic Javanese cultural forms is the *wayang* theater, and *Cĕnthini* tells how the *walis* of Islam adopted it. It introduces Yudhisthira of the Pandawa brothers, who is still Buddhist. He is unable to die, but rather is doomed to practice eternal *tapa* (asceticism) at Dĕmak, because he fears to read the magical amulet called Kalimasada, which he has in his possession. He tells this to the *wali* Sunan Kalijaga, who takes the amulet and reads it. It turns out to be the *Kalimah Sahadat*—the words of the *Shahāda,* the Islamic confession of faith. Kalijaga explains that with the mystical knowledge of Islam, one can achieve a perfect death.

Thereupon Yudhisthira converts to Islam and becomes Sunan Kalijaga's student. In gratitude, Yudhisthira gives three *wayang* puppets (the characters Baladewa, Krĕsna, and Wĕrkudara) to Kalijaga. Yudhisthira then dies. When the other *walis* are shown the *wayang* puppets, they are pleased and proceed to make more puppets after the fashion of these three.[16]

Cĕnthini shows an interest in other faiths, describing several encounters with pre-Islamic figures. The example of Yudhisthira was mentioned above. Other pre-Islamic mystics appear, in order to be converted to Islam. One of the most striking passages reviews the world's revealed religions, ending with Islam as the perfection of the others and the universal religion of Javanese. The speaker is Jayengsari, a son of Sunan Giri who has fled after Giri's conquest (c. 1636) by Sultan Agung's army under the command of Png. Pĕkik. After discussing Hinduism with a pre-Islamic hermit named Ki Ajar Satmata, Jayengsari explains the religions brought by the six prophets, referring particularly to their prayer regimes, scripture, fasting rules, food restrictions, and marriage laws.[17] The first prophet was Adam, who required prayers ten times a day. The second was Ĕnuh (Noah), with twelve daily prayers. The third was Ibrahim, who demanded twenty-two daily prayers. The fourth was Musa (Moses), requiring forty prayers a day.[18] The fifth was Ngisa (Jesus).

Jayengsari's account of the teachings of Ngisa (Jesus) is particularly interesting, for it seems to reflect contact with Christian tracts that were beginning to circulate in Java at around the time when *Cĕnthini* was written. It is longer than the other descriptions and suggests what Javanese then found remarkable about Christianity.

> "The fifth is the religious law
> of the honored prophet Ngisa [Jesus] the
> exalted.
> His confession of faith is,
> 'There is no God but God
> and Ngisa is the Spirit of God.'[19]
> This means that it is he who truly witnesses,
>
> "'There is no other Lord,
> but only one, that is, Allah,'
> and who witnesses, 'I am
> truly the Prophet Ngisa,
> the son of the Almighty.'
> His prayer is every Sunday
> but it only goes on for eight years,
>
> "indeed with fifty prostrations.[20]
> That which is regarded as scripture is just

one, the Gospels.
This was handed down by the angel
Jabrā'īl [Gabriel]. The emissaries of the Almighty
were only twelve.
Now we discuss the fast.

"This is every Easter[21] and
approaching Pentecost.
Easter is because of the death
of the prophet Ngisa. Then
he arose from the dead
within three days.
They break this fast after each sunset.

"Pentecost is when
the Divine Spirit[22]
came to the companions
of the honored lord prophet Ngisa.
The fast is for two days
and it is broken like Easter.[23]
Then they have the sacrificial meal of Pentecost.

"That which is forbidden [*haram*] is
that every Friday they may not
eat the flesh of animals.
But they are allowed to eat
fish and such like:
that is all allowed [*halal*].
Wine causes them no abhorrence.

"It is their nature to feign compassion.[24]
When they marry,
they are wed by the king
or by the government.
When the ceremony is completed,
they are given a certificate
of marriage to take with them.

"Between men and women,
it is women who are made superior.
So no other wives may be taken.
Female and male divorcees

for the rest of their lives may not
marry a second time,
unless it has been agreed to.

"When members of the community die,
their bodies are buried
in earth which is not raised up,
finished off beautifully flat.
It is even more excellent
if they are buried at the church [*masjit*]
and [the grave] shines like gold."[25]

Jayengsari makes clear, however, the superiority of Islam as the final revelation and an essential element in Javanese identity.

"The sixth is the religious law which completes
[the others],
of the Honored Prophet, the Emissary,
the greatest of the earth, outstanding,
Muḥammad the Messenger of God

"—May the Lord Bless him and grant him peace.
After Muḥammad
there were no more prophets.
[His law has been] handed down to today.

"Already embracing this holy religion
is every blade of grass in the land of Java,
following the Prophet who was Chosen."[26]

Jayengsari proceeds to describe Islam's regime of five daily prayers, the *Qur'ān* (said to have 140 sūras, whereas in fact it has 114), the *masjid al-Haram* in Mecca, and the imams of the four Sunni schools of law. "As for my people the Javanese, Imam Shafi'i is their leader."[27] He then discusses forbidden and allowed foods, marriage laws, circumcision of boys and girls, and differences in burial customs among the schools of law. When he finishes this account of the religions of the prophets, Ki Ajar Satmata thanks him and observes that the practices of his pre-Islamic religion and of the prophetic religions differ but the outcome is the same.[28]

Although at times some character observes that Islam and other reli-

gions have similar ends, *Cĕnthini* nevertheless maintains the superiority of Islam over all others. When one Wĕrgasana explains Hindu-Buddhist ideas about reincarnation to Amongraga, he rejects them and converts Wĕrgasana to Islam.[29] The Prophet Muḥammad is quoted as saying that, at the end of days, only Muslims who adhere to the five pillars of the faith will enter heaven.[30]

The revelations and teachings of Muḥammad are referred to frequently in *Cĕnthini,* on one occasion warning against both the excesses of false mysticism and the potential inadequacy of formalism.

> Many are the *ngelmus* which are false.
> In an age of disorder
> people embrace such *ngelmus,*
> many used as something to hide behind
> when their hearts are troubled.
> Such as those who continually engage in ecstasy:
> if they take pleasure in this they reflect no more.
>
> Of true believers none remain;
> only the name remains.
> And of all of Islam
> there remain only the symbols.
> And those who chant the *Qur'ān*
> are much distracted in their performance,
> their thoughts directed elsewhere.
>
> Their behavior is praised by the stupid.
> That which they regard as religion
> is gold and coins.
> Their stomachs become their leaders,
> distracted by food,
> grossly overwhelmed is their teaching,
> continually directed toward the world.[31]

Later *Cĕnthini* describes the licentious conduct of male and female devotees of such mystic ecstasy. These are called *wong birai* (people of ecstasy) or *santri birai* (religious students of ecstasy). Zoetmulder wondered whether the term *birai* might be associated in some way with the licentious *bhairawa* practices that Javanese Hindu-Buddhism ascribed to the final age of disorder, the Kaliyuga.[32] Certainly the ideas found in *Cĕnthini* in this respect are similar, but here

they are presented in Islamic garb. These *wong birai* are also called followers of *ngelmu dul* (the mystical science of *dul*), this term evidently referring to the founder of the sect, one Dul (i.e., Abdul) Malik.[33] This passage is in the later part of the book, where sexual adventures are prominent. The male and female devotees engage in *dhikr* until they lose consciousness. Thereafter they abandon themselves to sexual indulgence:

> Men and women mixed together,
> whoever on top of anyone else,
> just so they were naked.
> There was no law,
> that was the way of the *wong dul-birai.*[34]

In contrast to the dissolute excesses of this mystic cult, *Cĕnthini* describes also the ways of the Ṣūfī *ṭarekats*. The hero Amongraga follows the *dhikr* practices taught by the Naqshabandiyya and Shaṭṭāriyya. He achieves union with God by this means and "saw, but not with his eyes, the essence of God the Exalted." After this experience, "he performed a quiet, long breath with a single recitation of the confession of faith: *la ilaha ialah*, and then spoke a prayer of thanks."[35] The Shaṭṭāriyya and Naqshabandiyya orders are mentioned elsewhere in *Cĕnthini* as well.[36]

It is important to emphasize again that a sense of Javanese Islamic identity permeates *Sĕrat Cĕnthini*. In all of its immensity, variety, and complexity, this is a self-consciously Islamic work of literature. On page after page the elements of Islamic life appear, such as the five daily prayers, attendance at the mosque, and, as is to be expected in the Javanese setting, the searching inner life of the mystic. As noted above, Jayengsari says that every blade of grass in Java was Muslim. When excessive ecstatic mysticism and its attendant debauchery are depicted, they are the action of a sect of Muslims, those whom the Prophet describes as followers of the false *ngelmus* that mark the age of confusion.

One of the earliest European descriptions of the life of ordinary Javanese confirms the impression of people behaving in a way that was self-consciously Islamic, but bringing to it their own emphases. This is an account of Grĕsik in East Java in 1822 by A. D. Cornets de Groot, who was the Dutch resident there. He reported,

> In domestic life, the Javanese observes just a few of the practices prescribed for him by the *Qur'ān*. The main points of the Islamic faith, which are carried out by many, are the *Shahāda* [Confession of faith], the *sĕmbayang* [daily prayer], the *puasa* (fast), the *zakāt* [alms], *fitrah* [contribution at the end of the fast], and *ḥājj* [pilgrimage]. . . . The *puasa* [fast] is carried out by most Javanese of all classes.[37]

Cornets de Groot observed that only few Javanese, however, carried out their prayers at the prescribed times and with full ritual preparation. And local Javanese recognized many local spirits, *dewas,* and *widadaris*.[38] All of this seems consistent with the impression gained from *Cĕnthini.*

Sĕrat Cĕnthini has offered many rewards to its readers for nearly two centuries, and will continue to do so. It is many things other than a document setting out the lineaments of Javanese Islam, but it is also certainly that, and thus vital to the argument of this book. Here, in one of the great works of Javanese literature, is reflected the dominant mode of Javanese Islam of the early nineteenth century: self-consciously Islamic but admitting indigenous supernatural powers.

Already there were signs that this dominant mode of Islamic Javanese identity would come under challenge—and would eventually become a seriously contested matter. The description of Christianity quoted above betrays familiarity with Christian tracts. Before the nineteenth century, there was no European effort to convert Javanese to Christianity, and so far as is known none of the latter had shown any interest in conversion. But in the early nineteenth century that began to change in the evolving context of European imperialism, as Java (and other newly conquered parts of the Indonesian archipelago) was opened to Christian missions.

The developments in Islamization that have been considered so far in this book took place in a context in which European interference in Javanese affairs declined after the mid-eighteenth century. The VOC entered a long period of troubles and eventually went bankrupt at the end of that century. Thereupon the Java territories it claimed by treaty fell to the Netherlands state. The Islamizing clique of Ratu Pakubuwana and her followers was assisted by the absence of war until 1740, which limited VOC involvement with the *kraton*. The same was true of the period after 1757.

Already at the time when *Cĕnthini* was compiled in 1815, however, these circumstances were changing. The French Revolution and Napo-

leonic Wars in Europe generated a new age in Java. Beginning with the Napoleonic governor-general H. W. Daendels (1808–11), a new and more intrusive style of European administration came to Java. No longer were the Europeans content to gather what wealth, leisure, and pleasure they could from Java, leaving the Javanese as far as possible to their own affairs. Now the European government felt both entitled and obliged to reform Java, particularly to destroy what Europeans now perceived as a decadent indigenous ancien régime, and to exploit Java to the benefit of the colonial power. This tendency accelerated dramatically under the interim British administration led by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (lieutenant-governor of Java, 1811–16).[39] Some of the events associated with Raffles' period have already been referred to in chapter 6.

So in important ways, *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* stood on the threshold of a new age in Java, when the dominant mode of religious life achieved by the later eighteenth century would become bitterly contested. But there is no sign in the text—so far as I have read it—that any of this was foreseen. In that sense *Cĕnthini* suggests that the shapers of Javanese culture had yet to recognize the challenge that the nineteenth century was already beginning to present to them. That *Cĕnthini* has remained popular among some circles in Java down to the present suggests something else important: that the cultural contours that it captures continue to be relevant to some Javanese. But because of dramatic changes since it was written, it no longer represents the only conceivable way of being both Javanese and Muslim. Many more modern ideas and influences also play roles today.

The most prominent figure to face and resist the changes that flooded over Java in the early nineteenth century was Png. Dipanagara of Yogyakarta (1785–1855), later to be recognized as one of the greatest heroes of the Indonesian nationalist pantheon. He was a son of Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana III (r. 1810–11, 1812–14) and was reputedly marked out for future greatness in his infancy by his great-grandfather Sultan Mangkubumi. His life down to the outbreak of his great rebellion, the Java War of 1825–30, has been brilliantly illuminated by Peter Carey's work.[40]

Dipanagara's parentage connected him both to the court and to the religious community of Central Java. His great-grandfather, the first sultan of Yogyakarta, Sultan Mangkubumi, was still on the throne at the time of Dipanagara's birth. During much of his youth and adolescence he observed the intrigues, maladministration, and mounting troubles of

the reign of his grandfather Sultan Haměngkubuwana II (1792–1810, 1811–12, 1826–28). The reigns of his father Haměngkubuwana III (1810–11, 1812–14), his brother Haměngkubuwana IV (1814–22), and his nephew Haměngkubuwana V (1822–26, 1828–55) were all troubled times, punctuated by the Java War itself. Throughout, Dipanagara was a senior member of the royal family, but one alienated by much of what he observed at court, particularly by irreligiosity and the corrupting influence of Europeans.[41]

His mother's side connected him to pious religious networks. Yogyakarta *kraton* records name her as R. Ay. Mangkarawati, descended from a leading *kyai* of the Pajang area, where the rival court of Surakarta was located. She herself may have hailed from a village near Těmbayat,[42] which has already appeared in this book as a crucial center of Javanese Islam. Both the court and the religious communities may have been impressed by the fact that Dipanagara was born in the first month (Sura, Muharam) of the year AH 1200, at the very turning of an Islamic century, when messianic events were expected.[43]

In his youth, Dipanagara spent much time away from the court at the residence of his pious great-grandmother (Mangkubumi's widow) Ratu Ageng, called Tegalrěja (prosperous fields). This was a conscious withdrawal from the irreligiosity of Haměngkubuwana II's court, according to Dipanagara's later autobiographical *Babad Dipanagara,* composed in exile in Měnado in 1831–32. That text says of Ratu Ageng,

> . . . She was often at odds
> with her own sons [the sultan and princes].
> Therefore she broke away in anger and cleared new land;
> the waste fields were opened up.
> The distance from the city of Yogya
>
> was a journey of one hour.
> When it was ready
> it was called Tegalrěja.[44]

She seems to have made this move from the *kraton* very early in the second sultan's reign, when Dipanagara was only seven years old.[45]

Under Ratu Ageng's tutelage, the youthful Dipanagara evidently studied both literature of Islamic inspiration and works concerning Javanese legends and history. Such readings would have strengthened the sense of synthesis between what was Javanese and what was Islamic. Although

direct evidence of his youthful studies is not known to exist, he was later said to have read works of Islamic mysticism (*suluks*), legal texts (*Taqrīb, Lubāb al-fiqh, Muḥarrar, Taqarrub*), histories of the prophets of Islam (*Sĕrat Anbiya*), works of Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), the widely known work on Islamic kingship entitled *Taj as-Salāṭīn,* and histories of Middle Eastern monarchs. He also seems to have read *Jayalĕngkara wulang*, a Javanese adventure concerning a legendary prince from the Panji stories, which serves as a vehicle for teachings about mysticism and statecraft. He was evidently also familiar with works deriving from the pre-Islamic Old Javanese heritage, including *Sĕrat Rama* (from the *Rāmāyaṇa*), *Bhoma Kāwya*, *Arjunawiwāha* (in Modern Javanese called *Sĕrat Mintaraga*), and *Arjunawijaya* (called in Modern Javanese *Sĕrat Arjuna Sasrabau* or *Lokapala*). His knowledge of Javanese history, particularly his admiration for Sultan Agung, means he probably also explored *babad* literature.[46] According to a Yogyakarta chronicle, Dipanagara recommended that his young brother Haměngkubuwana IV should read *Sĕrat Anbiya, Taj as-Salāṭīn, Sĕrat Menak, Babad Kraton, Arjuna Sasrabau, Sĕrat Bratayuda* (from the Old Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*), and *Rama Badra,* again combining Javanese history, Javanese works of pre-Islamic origin, and works inspired by the wider world of Islam.[47] Two notebooks that Dipanagara wrote in exile c. 1838 reflected the synthesis in his mind. One is an account of Javanese history from Adam to Majapahit. The second concerns his mystical experiences, Ṣūfī prayers, and meditation techniques including breathing exercises.[48]

Dipanagara's perception of himself as a member of an Islamic community that stretched far beyond the shores of Java is reflected in his associating himself with the Ottoman sultanate. As noted in the preceding chapter, the Ottoman sultan was known in Java as Sultan Rum and was a powerful figure in Javanese mythology.[49] Sultan Rum was at once a distant leader of the *umat* in the real world of Islam and a founding figure in Javanese legends. It will be seen below that in the visions that preceded and impelled Dipanagara's rebellion, he took a title that associated himself with the Ottoman sultan. During the Java War he gave Turkish names and titles to regiments and commanders of his army.[50] This interest in Sultan Rum was shared by others. The short-lived rebellion in 1817 of one R. M. Umar Mahdi, who was from Bagĕlen, also rested upon appeals to Sultan Rum. Umar Mahdi told his followers that he was a soldier of Sultan Rum, who would himself arrive in Java shortly

to appoint Umar Mahdi as Ratu Adil, the messianic "just king." The Dutch arrested and executed this aspiring "just king."[51]

Several visions that Dipanagara described in his autobiographical *babad* show how thoroughly Javanese and Muslim was his sense of identity. The first took place c. 1805–8.[52] By this time, Ratu Agĕng was dead and Dipanagara had taken over Tĕgalrĕja, for "it was apparently the wish of the Immaterial that Pangeran Dipanagara must follow his great-grandmother, for it was his wish to be absorbed in religion." This led to a withdrawal from most court affairs and consequent conflict with his grandfather and father, Hamĕngkubuwana II and III.

Dipanagara said that he wandered the countryside, engaging in ascetic exercises incognito. He experienced trials and temptations. Some of the places he described himself as visiting during this time were associated with local Javanese spirits, such as the cave Siluman, where the spirit Gĕnawati was to be found, and Sawangan, the abode of the spirit Si Sandhung. In the cave Song Kamal, the *wali* Sunan Kalijaga appeared to him and foretold that he would become king. Thence Dipanagara—using the Arabic name Seh Ngabdurahkim (Shaikh 'Abd al-Raḥīm)—traveled through rough country to the Mataram dynastic graves at Imagiri, where Sultan Agung lies. From there he traveled to the cave Guwa Langse on the south coast, where the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, Ratu Kidul, could be encountered. He practiced asceticism for half a month in the cave, he said, until Ratu Kidul appeared before him. But Dipanagara, lost in deep meditation, "could not be tempted." So the goddess withdrew. As she did so, she promised that when the time arrived, she would come to him, a promise Ratu Kidul makes only to kings.[53] Thence Dipanagara traveled on, to engage in further meditation.

As he slept, Dipanagara heard a disembodied voice:

> "Heh, Seh Ngabdurahkim,
> change your name;
> Ngabdulkamit are you.
> And furthermore, I instruct you,
> it is three years before
> the destruction of the city of Yogyakarta,
>
> "for it is the wish of the Immaterial
> to begin the destruction of the Land of Java;
> indeed it is three years.
> As for you, in the future,

it is indeed determined
[that you shall] carry this out in the future.
. . .

"There is no other,
you alone are the means,
but that nor for long,
only to be counted among the ancestors.
Ngabdulkamit, farewell, you must return home."

This vision was vital in inspiring Dipanagara's view of himself as the future leader of a purifying devastation of Java, and is crucial for our understanding of his views of religious identity. While visiting caves where local spirits and the queen of all Javanese spirits, Ratu Kidul, could be met, Dipanagara also encountered Sunan Kalijaga, the *wali* most associated with the history of the Mataram dynasty. This set of visions culminated with him being told of a destruction that was to be visited upon Java in three years' time.[54] In connection with this, he was given the new name Ngabdulkamit (Arabic 'Abd al-Ḥamīd). This appears to have derived from the name of the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I (r. 1774–89). He was probably of particular interest to Javanese because he was the first Ottoman sultan to put forward a tentative claim to be the protector of Muslims everywhere. This was largely a diplomatic stance in response to the position adopted by Empress Catherine II (the Great) of Russia (r. 1762–96) as the protector of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Not until the later nineteenth century did the Ottoman sultans in fact pursue this claim with much vigor. But 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I's pretensions may have particularly attracted the attention of Javanese *hajis* and of Dipanagara because, in advancing this claim, the sultan was behaving like the Sultan Rum of Javanese legend, like an Islamic universal monarch.

The importance to Dipanagara of the name Ngabdulkamit, with its probable association with Sultan Rum, is confirmed by the titles he used during the Java War. He adopted several titles commonly associated with monarchs of the Mataram dynasty, such as *sayidin* (lord of the faith), *panatagama* (regulator of religion), and *kalifat rasulullah* (caliph of the Prophet of God).[55] But for his own name he chose Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erucakra. So he was Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and at the same time Erucakra, the name associated with the messianic Ratu Adil of Javanese tradition.[56] Thus it seems that he proclaimed himself

both Sultan Rum and Ratu Adil, reflecting the Javanese-Islamic synthesis central to Dipanagara's character and essential to the popular following that he inspired.

Meanwhile the affairs of Java and the behavior of the court deteriorated, by Dipanagara's standards, in the new colonial age after 1808 in Java. He was not alone in this assessment. A senior Dutch observer reported in 1827, two years into the Java War, that "all Java knows this, how the Dutch allowed the *kraton* [of Yogyakarta] . . . to be made into a brothel and how Dipanagara has sworn to destroy it to the last stone."[57]

In the final months before the outbreak of the Java War, Dipanagara had more visions, according to his *babad*.[58] In May 1824 he was at the cave Guwa Sĕcang, a favorite meditation place for him. There, as he slept upon a stone used as a meditation seat, a personage appeared to him dressed like a *haji,* who then led him to a mountaintop, where there appeared the Ratu Adil. His countenance was so brilliant that Dipanagara had to avert his eyes, and the Ratu Adil cast no shadow. But Dipanagara could observe the just king's attire, which was stereotypically Islamic: green turban, white tabard and trousers, and red shawl.

The Ratu Adil spoke to Dipanagara:[59]

> "Heh, Ngabdulkamid,
>
> "This is why I have summoned you:
> take charge of all my army
> and conquer Java.
> If anyone should ask you
> for your mandate, it is the *Qur'ān*:
> tell them to seek it there."

Dipanagara professed his inability to carry out this grave and bloody task, but the Ratu Adil told him that this had already been determined by God. He then disappeared, and Dipanagara found himself standing in the Ratu Adil's place.

Sometime thereafter, according to the prince's autobiography, he was described as a *wali wudhar* in a dream had by the grandmother of the infant Haměngkubuwana V, then on the throne of Yogyakarta. This term caused confusion as Dipanagara sought to fathom its meaning. It is indeed rather obscure. The general meaning of *wudhar* is "loose, undone, unfettered, canceled, annulled," etc. *Wudhar ing tapa*

means "to end one's asceticism." But the meaning of *wali wudhar* remains obscure: perhaps it meant an apostle who was freed or unfettered from the obligations of apostleship. In any case, Dipanagara was first told that it meant a failed *wali,* which greatly distressed him; then that it meant a *wali* with two roles: one spiritual and another temporal. Dipanagara's confidant Kỳ. H. Rahmanudin, a former Yogyakarta *kraton pĕngulu* (1812–23), said that of the 124,000 prophets (*nabi),* only six were also *wali wudhar*: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, the final prophet.[60] But he added two more Javanese figures to this list, Sunan Giri and Sultan Agung. He implied further that Dipanagara might become a ninth *wali wudhar,* but "God knows best." Rahmanudin's idea that *wali wudhar* were the elite among prophets and that the Prophet Muḥammad was not the last of them may imply an idiosyncratic understanding of the place of Muḥammad as God's final emissary. On the other hand, Java is not the only place in the Islamic world where local saints are ascribed extraordinary powers.

Dipanagara said in his *babad* that he had his final visions on the eve of the Java War, during the fasting month of April-May 1825. Again he was meditating at Guwa Sĕcang. A disembodied voice said to him that the Almighty had bestowed on him the title of Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erucakra Sayidin Panatagama Kalifat Rasulullah. Then, as he slept that night, Dipanagara dreamed that eight men with radiant countenances came to him, the leader carrying a letter. They stood five and three on two sides of a pond. Dipanagara joined them, whereupon the letter was read aloud, and it again proclaimed the title Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erucakra Sayidin Panatagama Kalifat Rasulullah. The letter was then dropped into the pond and the eight men disappeared, leaving Dipanagara standing along. These were probably the eight *wali wudhar,* Dipanagara now having joined them as the ninth.[61]

The Dutch knew some of what was going on. "Prince Dipanagara appears for some time now to have given himself over to fanaticism," reported the inept Dutch resident of Yogyakarta, A. H. Smissaert, in July 1825. "He is known for someone who from time to time is tormented by madness . . . in which state he had earlier, more than once, embarked upon stupid steps and forced religious duties."[62] Smissaert claimed that the other princes and dignitaries disapproved of this "fanaticism." In the Surakarta *Babad Dipanagara,* Smissaert is quoted in a similar vein at about the same time:

"It is a sham, his giving himself over to religion

"and often going away to perform asceticism.
He is hand-in-glove with the students of religion [*santri*].
He has lost the respect of the nobility,
and adopts the respect of the *santri*."[63]

In July 1825 the Java War broke out when escalating tensions between Dipanagara, on one hand, and the *kraton* and Dutch, on the other, culminated in a Dutch assault on Tĕgalrĕja. The prince's residence was burned to the ground, but Dipanagara escaped. The subsequent war lasted five years. Dipanagara mobilized a broad following and held the initiative at the outset. By the second year of the war, however, his momentum was grinding to a halt, and from 1827 the military initiative passed to the Dutch side. In March 1830 Dipanagara agreed to come to a conference with the Dutch at Magĕlang, where he was arrested and exiled to Mĕnado (1830–33) and then to Makasar (1833–55), where he died in 1855. The war cost the government side eight thousand European soldiers and seven thousand Indonesian soldiers. At least two hundred thousand Javanese died. At the end of the war, Yogyakarta's population had been halved. A high price had been paid for Dipanagara's attempt to fulfill the mandate of the Ratu Adil.[64]

Dipanagara—both Javanese and Muslim at the core of his identity—had reacted to a changing political and cultural environment, to early signs that the mystic synthesis he embodied was to come under challenge. European colonial power and influence had increased greatly in the years after 1808. The fall of the Yogyakarta *kraton* to British attack in 1812 was a shock to the Javanese nobility, for never before had a European force conquered a Central Javanese court. European interference in Javanese courtly prerogatives and proprieties became powerful and ineluctable. Javanese autocrats did not all join Dipanagara in resisting these changes. As in any such changing environment, some Javanese saw opportunities for advancement. The enthusiasm with which some embraced rowdy debauchery as a cultural form or the purposes of European colonialism as a means to personal advantage constituted a major cause of Dipanagara's disaffection. During the war itself, the unity between Dipanagara's followers who came from religious communities and those who were from the aristocratic elite broke down completely. This was among the causes of Dipanagara's final failure.[65]

Yet even Dipanagara found something in European culture to his taste. After his arrest in 1830, he made it clear to his Dutch captors that he had acquired a liking for wine before the Java War and had missed it during the years of fighting. While the *Qur'ān* prohibited intoxicating drinks, the taking of wine for medicinal purposes was, said Dipanagara, permissible. He evidently found both red and white wines of equal benefit to his health. The Dutch lieutenant with responsibility for Dipanagara managed to supply him with some bottles of Cape, German, and French wines.[66] As has been seen above, it was not unusual for Javanese aristocrats to reconcile their Islamic faith with an appreciation of alcohol. The *Shari'a* was important to aristocratic Javanese mystics, but rather selectively so, it seems.

In the discussion of *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* above, Cornets de Groot's description of Grĕsik in 1822 presented a picture of Javanese society in East Java that seemed consistent with the one gained from reading *Cĕnthini*.[67] That description did not directly concern the courts of Central Java. As it happened, his son A. D. Cornets de Groot Jr. served in Surakarta first as a student of Javanese (1819–23), at which he excelled, and later (1823–27) as secretary of the residency, so the elder Cornets de Groot probably received information about the *kratons* from his son.[68] In any case, directly concerning court life there survives a report on Surakarta in 1824, on the eve of the Java War, by J. W. Winter, who acted as translator for European authorities in Java from the late eighteenth century.

Winter's report on Surakarta in 1824 is a combination of insights and ignorance. Valuable information, surprising linguistic confusions, and plain prejudice are all to be found in his report. In an age when religious and ethnic boundaries were conveniently coterminous, Winter's observations of Javanese Islam reflected both self-defining distance and years of observation, much of it evidently unsympathetic. At the start of a section entitled "Superstitions," Winter wrote,

> I'm not saying that the Javanese don't practice well their religion of the faith of Muḥammad, which is professed by them across the whole of Java. Its adherents are devoted to it as strongly as possible. But the exorbitant superstition which seems native to them makes them wholly incapable of paying attention . . . to the fact that anything which is not part of nature also cannot be brought into being [through magic] by any mortal. They believe in this greatly, and for that reason they have no desire to apply themselves to matters of politics or other useful sciences, whether in theory or in practice.[69]

Whatever the value of Winter's views about Javanese disinterest in "useful sciences," his report confirms from a contemporary but culturally distanced observer the outlines of the dominant mode of religion in Java at this time: self-consciously, indeed tenaciously Muslim in identity, but admitting indigenous ideas in matters of faith.

Further impressions are to be gained from the reports of the British observers Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) and John Crawfurd (1783–1868), both of whom were in Java during the interim British administration of 1811–16. Both were men of intelligence—although it may be said that neither seems to have held the other's intellect in as high regard as his own.[70] Of the two, Crawfurd had greater direct knowledge of Javanese society and a superior command of the Javanese language. Their accounts sometimes contradict each other. Raffles, for example, reported that Javanese Muslims enjoyed eating pork, while Crawfurd said that the avoidance of pork was "the only negative precept of the Koran by which the Javanese can be said strictly to abide."[71] And the value judgments they brought to their reports probably tell us at least as much about early-nineteenth-century Britain as they do about Java. Nevertheless, their observations are worth quoting.

Raffles noted the perseverance of pre-Islamic ideas. He wrote, rather acidly,

> Their profession of Mohamedanism has not relieved them from the superstitious prejudices and observances of an anterior worship; they are thus open to the accumulated delusions of two religious systems.

"Pilgrimages to Mecca are common," he noted, and "every village has its priest, and . . . in every village of importance there is a mosque or building set apart adapted to religious worship." He reported the practice of circumcision of both boys and girls, the latter said to "suffer a slight operation, intended to be analogous."[72]

Raffles seems to have judged the degree of Islamic commitment largely by the standard of how anti-European Muslims were, and by that measure he found Javanese to be moderates, although he said that all Javanese supported and respected Islam's doctrines:

> The Mohamedan religion, as it at present exists on Java, seems only to have penetrated the surface, and to have taken but little root in the heart of the Javans. Some there are who are enthusiastic, and all con-

> sider it a point of honour to support and respect its doctrines: but as a nation, the Javans by no means feel hatred towards Europeans as *infidels;* and this perhaps may be given as the best proof that they are very imperfect Mahomedans.[73]

John Crawfurd regarded the Javanese as "semibarbarians."[74] He brought a fierce Scottish Protestant judgmentalism to his observations of Islam in Java:

> Of all Mahomedans the Javanese are the most lax in their principles and practice, a singularity to be ascribed to their little intercourse with foreign Mahomedans. . . . In most of the Mahomedan institutions of the Javanese, we discover marks of Hinduism. The institutions of the latter have in reality been rather modified and built upon than destroyed. . . . Neither the prayers nor the fastings of the Indian islanders, commonly speaking, are very rigid. The lower orders know little, and care less, about these matters. . . . Some of the higher classes, *now and then,* pay a more sober and decent regard to the exterior observances of religion, but it is not very general, and it is never severe. . . . The pilgrimage to Mecca is frequently undertaken by the Javanese, and all the other Mahomedan tribes, less on account of piety, than on account of the distinctions and immunities which the reputation of the pilgrimage confers among a simple and untaught people. . . . The disregard of *the Javanese,* and of many other of the Mahomedan tribes of the Archipelago, for the negative precepts of the Koran, is open and avowed. They entertain an universal passion for intoxicating drugs. . . . Although they are no drunkards, all classes partake of spirituous liquors, or wine, without reserve when it comes in their way. . . . To the prohibition against games of chance they pay no regard on earth. . . . The inhibition of usury is as little regarded as the last. The only negative precept of the Koran by which the Javanese can be said strictly to abide, is the prohibition against eating the flesh of hogs.[75]

It is hard to know what to make of Crawfurd's views. They are in some ways at odds with the reports of the other observers who have been cited here and with the Javanese sources we have noted. His judgments prefigure those of later colonial rulers, of some anthropologists, and indeed of Islamic reformers. Presumably Crawfurd judged Javanese religious practices by the strict purities that he expected of the followers of any faith and found wanting in a version of Islam so open to local influences. His judgments are not, however, inconsistent with the view formed in this book: that by the time

Crawfurd was in Java, Islam was the core religious element in Javanese senses of identity, while also accommodating older spiritual forces.

It is apposite to remind readers that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—before the great wave of Islamic reform and revival movements of modern times—the same observation could apply to many other places in the Islamic world. Javanese ideas had unique qualities. No one else (except the Sundanese) shared Ratu Kidul with them, and Sunan Lawu was uniquely Javanese. But from the shores of the Western Mediterranean through the Balkans and Turkey, across the Levant and Arabia, in East Africa, Persia, and South Asia, through China and Southeast Asia, the singular message of the Prophet Muḥammad became plural in its local manifestations. It would be the aim of the Islamic reformers of the nineteenth century and after to change that, and Java would in due course be deeply affected.

As Dipanagara and his followers went down to defeat in the Java War, they took with them the last Javanese prospects for independence from colonial rule for over a century. But not only that. Not for over a century would Javanese social, cultural, economic, political, and religious life develop other than in a context of foreign rule. The kinds of cultural and religious reforms and synthesis that Sultan Agung or Ratu Pakubuwana or Dipanagara could contemplate with little regard for foreigners would cease to be matters for independent Javanese determination. Not only Javanese, but henceforth also European colonial rulers, cared what sort of Muslims Javanese were or became. So, in due course, would Islamic reformers. Javanese society and the mystic synthesis that was its dominant mode of religious identity were about to come under serious challenges that would change them profoundly in the course of the nineteenth century.

Notes

[1] This is no more than a rough estimate, based on the calculation that the first 166 pp. (49 cantos) of Kamajaya's published version contain 10,060 lines of verse, and that there are 3,469 pp. in the twelve volumes of *Cĕnthini*. Thus, (10,060÷166) ×3,469 = 210,230.

[2] Th. Pigeaud, "De Serat Tjabolang en de Serat Tjenṭini: Inhoudsopgaven," *VBG* vol. 72, pt. 2 (1933).

[3] The version is referred to in notes with the abbreviation *Cĕn*. All references are by canto and verse number, to facilitate comparison with other versions.

[4] *Cĕn*. 1:1–4. The Javanese date differs by one day from standard conversion tables, so there is a degree of uncertainty about the Western equivalent. This is not unusual in Javanese dates.

[5] *Cĕn.* 722:42–55.

[6] I do not know on what grounds Ann Kumar can say confidently, "We can hardly doubt that Cabolang [the hero of the section she summarizes briefly] is discovering Javanese society, history, geography and civilisation in a new way and at a new level"; *Java and Modern Europe,* p. 92.

[7] Pigeaud, "Tjabolang en Tjenṭini," p. 5.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Soebardi, "Santri-religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjĕnṭini," *BKI* vol. 127, no. 3 (1971), pp. 334–40, 345–46. Soebardi's explanation (pp. 347–49) that the more heterodox version of the hero Amongraga is part of the original text and more orthodox elements were introduced in the early nineteenth century is, however, entirely speculative.

[10] *Cĕn.* 473:17. Text and translation in Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 239, 243 (English ed. pp. 210, 213).

[11] *Cĕn.* 474:22–23. Text and translation (which differs slightly from mine) in Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 242, 247 (English ed. pp. 212, 216).

[12] The four foundations of the law, the *uṣūl al-fiqh.*

[13] *Cĕn.* 176:17–19.

[14] *Cĕn.* 21:26.

[15] *Cĕn.* 417–27.

[16] *Cĕn.* 133:5–134:33.

[17] Satmata is from Tĕnggĕr, a mountainous area that has resisted Islamization down to the present. See Robert W. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[18] *Cĕn.* 65:1–31.

[19] Note that the *Qur'ān* 4:169 calls Jesus the Spirit of God.

[20] I cannot guess what is meant by this description of the Christian mode of prayer in the preceding two lines.

[21] The word is the Dutch *Pasen.* No other Dutch words are used.

[22] *Rohul Kudus,* from Qur'anic *ruḥ al-qudus,* who sent the *Qur'ān* to humankind (*Qur'ān* 16:104). See Gibb et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. VII, p. 880.

[23] *Pasen;* see n. 21.

[24] The translation of this line is speculative.

[25] *Cĕn.* 65:32–40.

[26] *Cĕn.* 66:1–3.

[27] *Cĕn.* 66:27.

[28] *Cĕn.* 66:4–46.

[29] *Cĕn.* 428:9–63.

[30] *Cĕn.* 57:5.

[31] *Cĕn.* 57:26–28.

[32] Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 269–72 (English ed. pp. 235–38).

[33] According to the nineteenth-century missionary-scholar Carel Poensen, in his annual report for 1864 (Kedhiri, Jan. 1865), in Archief Raad voor de Zending, Het Utrechts Archief 261.

[34] *Cĕn.* 446:51. Further text and discussion of this passage in Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 270–71 (English ed. pp. 236–37).

[35] *Cĕn.* 365:48–64. Text, translation, and notes in Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 130–33, 374–77 (English ed. pp. 115–18, 328–32).

[36] E.g., *Cĕn.* 672:145, 151; 708:484.

[37] A. D. Cornets de Groot, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Javanen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* vol. 14, pt. 2 (1852), pp. 271–72. Cornets de Groot's report is summarized in Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe,* p. 111 et seq., but her summary of this passage on p. 161 renders it as "Observance of Islam is slight." The quotation given here shows this to be inaccurate.

[38] Cornets de Groot, "Bijdrage," p. 593 et seq.

[39] On these events, see Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, pp. 145–50.

[40] For a valuable overview, see Peter Carey, "The Origins of the Java War (1825–30)," *The English Historical Review* vol. 91, no. 358 (Jan. 1976), pp. 52–78. It is regrettable that the first volume of Carey's 1975 Oxford doctoral thesis (Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara"), which contains the biographical account, remains unpublished. The second volume is available in published form as Peter B. R. Carey (ed. and transl.), *Babad Dipanagara: An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825–30): The Surakarta Court Version of the Babad Dipanagara and Translations into English and Indonesian Malay,* Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society monograph no. 9 (Kuala Lumpur: Art Printing Works Sdn. Bhd. for the Council of the MBRAS, 1981).

[41] A brief account of the period is available in Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, pp. 143–51.

[42] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, pp. 43–44.

[43] Ibid., p. 43. The AJ year was 1712, the AD equivalent 11 Nov. 1785.

[44] Text and translation in ibid., p. 75.

[45] Ibid., p. 74.

[46] Ibid., pp. 83–85. A *Sĕrat Ambiya* that was evidently owned by Ratu Agĕng is now IOL Jav. 74 (IO 2663) in the India Office collection held in the British Library. See M. C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Language in British Public Collections,* London Oriental Bibliographies vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 69. A MS that may have been owned by Dipanagara, containing moralistic instructions and a fragment of *Jayalĕngkara wulang,* is in the H. M. de Kock collection (no. 222) in ARA; a photocopy is in LOr 12,586. See Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. IV, p. 86.

[47] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 269.

[48] Ibid., p. 23.

[49] P. 153 in this volume.

[50] Commanders were called *ali basah* from Turkish *ali pasha.* Among the names used for Dipanagara's regiments were Bulkio, Arkio and Turkio, evidently derived from the names of Ottoman Janissary and line regiments; Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 99.

[51] Ibid., 306–9.

[52] Text, translation, and discussion in Ricklefs, "Early Inspirational Experience." The passage is also discussed in Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, pp. 88–102.

[53] When Ratu Kidul later came to Dipanagara as promised, she offered her aid on the condition that he intercede with God so that she might again become a human being (the same plea she addressed fruitlessly to Sultan Agung; see p. 35 in this volume). Dipanagara, however, declined, saying that he did not seek her assistance against his fellow humans, for in matters of religion there is only the help of the Almighty. Ratu Kidul then disappeared. Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara,"

vol. I, pp. 95–7.

[54] Because the precise time of this revelation is unknown, what event three years hence was being predicted is unclear. While this probably refers to the British sack of Yogyakarta in 1812, it may instead refer to the revolt of R. Rangga, a major Yogyakarta military leader, against the European colonial power in 1810. This point is considered in Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 103.

[55] In fact the version used by the sultans of Yogyakarta was the more overblown *kalifatulah*, "caliph of God."

[56] Ricklefs, "Early Inspirational Experience," pp. 241–45. The name Erucakra had also been adopted by Dipanagara's earlier namesake who rebelled in 1718. See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, pp. 180–81.

[57] W. van Hogendorp, "Extract rapport betreffende de Residentie Kedoe" (1827), cited in Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 351.

[58] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, pp. 359–81.

[59] My translation differs slightly from that in ibid., p. 361.

[60] Carey, *Archive of Yogyakarta,* vol. I, p. 194.

[61] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, pp. 370–71, is probably correct in regarding these figures as the *wali wudhar,* although the passage of the *babad* which he gives there does not explicitly say this to be so.

[62] Smissaert to van der Capellen, 19 July 1825, cited in ibid., p. 388.

[63] Text and translation in ibid., pp. 18–19. My translation differs slightly.

[64] The most authoritative account of the Java War is P. J. F. Louw and E. S. de Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825–30,* 6 vols. ('s-Hage: M. Nijhoff; Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1894–1909).

[65] Carey, "Satria and Santri," provides a profound analysis of this issue.

[66] J. H. Knoerle, Aanteekeningen, Mĕnado, 20 June 1830, pp. 35–42; in Johannes van den Bosch Private Collection no. 391, ARA. I am grateful to Peter Carey for supplying me with his notes from this source.

[67] Pp. 204–5 in this volume.

[68] Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, vol. I, p. xv.

[69] J. W. Winter, "Beknopte beschrijving van het hof Soerakarta in 1824," *BKI* vol. 54 (1902), p. 82.

[70] Crawfurd's account of Raffles, his former superior, in J. Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856; reprinted with intro. by M. C. Ricklefs, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 363–64, includes the observation that Raffles "was not, perhaps, an original thinker, but readily adopted the notions of others,—not always with adequate discrimination."

[71] Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java,* 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1830), vol. II, p. 5n; John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago, containing an account of the manners, arts, languages, religions, institutions, and commerce of its inhabitants* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), vol. II, p. 271.

[72] Raffles, *History*, vol. II, pp. 3–4.

[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 5.

[74] Crawfurd, *History,* vol. I, p. 47 and elsewhere.

[75] Ibid. vol. II, pp. 260–71.

Conclusion

Achieving Mystic Synthesis

The previous chapters of this book have described a process of Islamization. We have considered the contested identity one senses from the few surviving sources of the early stages of Islamization. This was followed by the Islamizing pulse of Sultan Agung's time, the challenges of the early Kartasura period, the second *kraton*-led Islamizing pulse of Ratu Pakubuwana and Pakubuwana II's time, the dominant mode of mystic synthesis suggested by aristocratic sources of the later eighteenth century, and finally the mature form of that mystic synthesis as captured in *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* and the life of Dipanagara. By the early nineteenth century—on the eve of true European colonial rule over Java—a dominant mode of religious identity had been achieved, at least in aristocratic circles and, to judge from the very few relevant European sources of the period, probably more widely as well.

This was not a predetermined outcome. It was the result of multiple historically contingent circumstances: Hindu-Javanese openness to new spiritual forces, the presence at the centre of the state of personalities such as Sultan Agung and Ratu Pakubuwana, the threat to Javanese society posed by VOC intervention and multiple non-Javanese incursions of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the utter disaster of Pakubuwana II's attempt at holy war against the European *kāfirs,* the decline of the VOC in the course of the eighteenth century and the consequent diminution of its interference in Central Javanese affairs, Mangkunĕgara I's piety and survival after many years of warfare, the strength of the international Ṣūfī orders. Change any of these (and many other) circumstances and this book might have had a different story to tell.

This dominant mode of religious identity had clear characteristics, although we have seen the variety in practice that one expects in any society. Javanese identity was a subset of Islamic identity. No other form of Javanese identity was conceivable. Mangkunĕgara I's personal MS of the 1760s–70s provides an example of the *pangiwa-panĕngĕn* (left-right) genealogy of the Javanese elite, with the left-hand genealogy describing

descent from Adam through Hindu-Javanese deities and Javanese lords, and the right-hand genealogy describing their descent from Adam via the saints and prophets of Islam.[1] Similarly, Pakubuwana II's *Sĕrat wulang* describes Javanese literature as one's left eye and Arabic literature as the right, the former providing a view of the self while the latter offers a vision of God.[2] Both were needed for a complete view of reality, just as one must be both Javanese and Muslim to achieve a full identity.

This firm Javanese-Islamic identity admitted the reality of local spiritual forces of non-Islamic origin. When Dipanagara wandered the hills and ravines near Java's south coast in the early nineteenth century, he encountered various spiritual forces, including notably a visitation by the most powerful of them all in Java: Ratu Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean. Six decades earlier, as Pakubuwana II meditated forlornly on Mt. Lawu after the loss of his *kraton,* he evidently found Sunan Lawu, "king of the spirits," to be a real spiritual force who offered solace and aid in return for the king marrying his spirit daughter.[3] When the future Hamĕngkubuwana II produced his supernaturally charged work *Sĕrat Surya Raja* in 1774, Ratu Kidul had a vital role to play as a spiritual force, but one of a lower standing than God. It is possible that such local deities had not always been welcome in devout Javanese Ṣūfī circles. When Ratu Pakubuwana produced her powerful literary works of the 1730s, she evidently had no room in them for Sunan Lawu or Ratu Kidul. But her successors did. Such forces were clearly important in the dominant mode of religiosity in Java of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As J. W. Winter's unsympathetic description of 1824 observed, the Javanese of Surakarta were devoted to Islam "as strongly as possible" but were also given to an "exorbitant superstition that seems native to them."[4]

The mystic synthesis that is observable in Java by the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is of interest here for its social aspects: we seek to understand the reconciliation of identities that evidently had been contested in the fourteenth century and which, in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, would again draw apart, and do so with bloody consequences. But there were also philosophical dimensions to this synthesis that deserve to be considered and that are of considerable interest in the larger context of the history of world religions. Those dimensions were resolved in ways that set the scene for potential conflict later.

The Javanese synthesis represented in effect a trade-off between two

quite different ways of looking at the phenomenal and eternal worlds. At the risk of some simplification, Islam in Java (as in India and elsewhere in Southeast Asia) may be thought of as a characteristically Middle Eastern worldview that was introduced into an area of characteristically monsoon-Asian religiosity. The former, as found in Islamic, Christian, and Jewish thought, posited a transcendent deity who created the world and humankind. The Middle East was the land of revealed religions, where God through acts of divine will and grace chose to send knowledge, laws, prophets, and promises of salvation to his human creations. Human beings occupied a phenomenal, created world that was real and which they hoped to escape through salvation. The latter worldview, as found in Hinduism and Buddhism, posited an immanent divinity and a world that was unreal, an illusion created by human ignorance and misunderstanding. Reality—essentially defined as what is permanent—was discernible by meditation and introspection, which could lead to the realization of an essential oneness between the mystic seeker and Reality. In the centuries of interest in this book, these theoretical distinctions (and it needs to be remembered that they themselves ignore many complexities) were capable of being bridged by the ecumenical genius of mysticism. We need not explore the theological subtleties that made a Ṣūfī's personal experience of God's presence an orthodox or heretical exercise. But it is important to recognize that Sufism played a central role in the mystic synthesis achieved in Java.

Javanese accepted from Islam the rituals that defined membership in the worldwide community of Muslims. No longer were the dead cremated, as in Hindu-Javanese times. Now they were buried as Muslims, and the evidence of the Tralaya and Trawulan graves tells us that this had been happening at least from the fourteenth century. The young were circumcised as signs of their Islamic identity. It is probable (in the absence of much evidence on the matter) that both males and females were circumcised, although in the latter case it may normally have been the merely ritual gesture found in later times in Java. Javanese went on the *ḥajj* to Mecca and maintained contacts with other Muslims there. The Confession of Faith, that there is no God but God and Muḥammad was the Messenger of God, and other conventional Islamic expressions were widely recognized and repeated. Prayer times, the fast, and other ritual demands of Islam were practiced.

But this did not mean the abandonment of older cultural forms or of older ideas about the supernatural. Pre-Islamic Old Javanese literature

was still studied and read, its religious messages now being conceived of as Islamic. In *Sĕrat Cabolek*, Kĕtib Anom is said to have told his opponent Mutamakin that the latter might ship all the books he liked from Arabia without purpose, for the essence of Sufism was to be learned from *Bima Suci, Arjunawiwāha,* and *Rāmāyaṇa.*[5] Dipanagara, too, recommended that his younger brother, Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana IV, should read not only the lives of the holy figures of Islam in *Sĕrat Anbiya* and *Sĕrat Menak,* but also *Arjuna Sasrabau* and *Sĕrat Bratayuda.*[6] The perseverance of belief in Ratu Kidul, Sunan Lawu, and innumerable local spirit forces is an aspect of this preservation of older ideas. Put crudely, Javanese accepted the outer identifying signs of being Muslim, retaining much of the inner spiritual conceptions of the past. Readers should not forget, however, that similar trade-offs were made throughout the Islamic world, as indeed they have been at other times and places in the history of all world religions.

Thus, there was much that changed in temporal life. Javanese personal and family life were marked by much that was recognizably Islamic, as noted above: fasting, burial, ritual prayer, the *ḥajj.* Food laws were observed, too, but it has been noted in previous pages that most Javanese aristocrats managed to interpret food laws in such a way as to allow the drinking of alcohol. It was, said Dipanagara, good for his health. Qur'anic *ḥadd* punishment was used at the courts, as exemplified by the amputation of the limbs of thieves as recorded in Surakarta under Pakubuwana IV, although such punishment was conspicuously avoided in the case of aristocratic consumption of wine.[7] Mysticism was vital to this religious life, but most Javanese texts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries insisted that the *Shari'a* was the necessary container for one's mystical practices. Pakubuwana IV's *Wulangreh* described the law as "the true container" for mysticism.[8]

The strong sense of a synthesis of Javanese and Islamic identities appears to have been reinforced by the invasions of the early Kartasura period. Europeans, Makasarese, Bugis, Madurese, Ambonese, Balinese, Chinese, and others became involved in the endemic armed conflicts that marked the period from the 1670s to the early 1720s. Some of these were Muslims, some were not; none was Javanese. So questions appear to have arisen as to what it meant to be Javanese, or Muslim, or an ally or enemy of Javanese Muslims. The most explicit account of this issue is a debate among the anti-*kraton* and anti-VOC rebels of Surabaya in 1718, described in chapter 4 above. The Surabayans were much moti-

vated by their sense of Islamic identity and thought of themselves as fighting a holy war. So what should they say to the assistance offered by Hindu Balinese forces? According to the courtly chronicle *Babad Kraton,* half of the Surabayan soldiers, who were consulted by their lords, were of the view that if Hindus joined them, their war could no longer be an Islamic *jihad* against infidel enemies. But one of their number argued that there were two kinds of *kāfirs:* evil *kāfirs* like the Dutch and helpful *kāfirs* like the Balinese. On the basis of this dubious distinction, Balinese assistance was accepted and the Surabayans then went down to defeat. This suggests that Javanese-Islamic identity was recognized, at least in some quarters, as overlapping with other identities. On one hand were Balinese, seen in some sense as cultural cousins if not Muslims. On the other were Chinese Muslims, with whom many Javanese allied against the VOC and *kraton* in the Chinese War of the 1740s: not cultural cousins, but many of them fellow Muslims nevertheless. The core of all this remained, however, the identity of being Javanese and being Muslim. Nothing in the records of this period of which I am aware implies that it was possible to be Javanese without being Muslim. It is remarkable to observe that, barely a century after the period covered in this book, there would be Javanese who would insist that one could be truly Javanese only by rejecting Islam—but that is a story for a subsequent volume.

Javanese Muslims of this period saw themselves as part of a wider Islamic world. The *ḥajj* has always played a vital role in creating international networks among Muslims, and it certainly did so for Javanese of this period. Whether it was Sultan Agung or Sultan Abulmafakhir Mahmud seeking investiture from Mecca in the 1630s, *hajis* forming links with Indonesian exiles in Sri Lanka, Sultan Mangkubumi sending a pilgrim to study in Mecca, returning *hajis* spreading anti-*kāfir* messages by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī in the 1770s, or other such episodes, the Javanese link with the wider Islamic world centered on Mecca has been illustrated in the preceding chapters. Knowledge of major works of Ṣūfī literature has been seen repeatedly above. Haji Mutamakin of *Sĕrat Cabolek* claimed Shaikh Zain al-Yamanī, a well-known Naqshabandiyya figure from Yemen, as his teacher.[9] The Ottoman sultanate also seems to have been of great significance, as was reflected notably in Dipanagara associating himself with Sultan Rum.

In the cultural environment of Java, the core of this synthesis was the searching inner life of the mystic. Mangkunĕgara I attended *dhikr* ses-

sions at his princely residence. As a youth, Mangkubumi engaged in extreme acts of asceticism and summoned the supernatural powers of Islam to defeat demonic enemies. Pakubuwana IV's *santri* advisors evidently taught a deviant version of the Shaṭṭāriyya *tarekat* and promised magical interventions in his cause. *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* contains multiple lessons in Sufism. A bibliography of Javanese mystical literature as found in MSS from the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would be a voluminous document.[10]

The essence of Javanese Sufism was the doctrine of nonduality, which provided the intellectual underpinnings of the social reality of Javanese Islamic identity.[11] Or perhaps we should say that it was the philosophical parallel to the social nonduality of being Muslim and being Javanese in this period. This doctrine had clear pre-Islamic parallels that should probably be accepted as its direct origins. One of its best-known expressions is in the national motto of the Republic of Indonesia, *Bhinneka tunggal ika.* This is conventionally translated as "Unity in diversity" and was adopted after Indonesian independence as a parallel to the American *E pluribus unum,* that is, as a "classical" expression of republican unity in the midst of Indonesia's cultural diversity. It is in fact a quotation from the fourteenth-century Old Javanese *Kakawin Sutasoma.* Here the poet Tantular seeks to express the nonduality of the Buddha and Siwa with the words "They are different, but they are one [*bhinneka tunggal ika*], as there is no duality in the [Absolute] Truth of Reality."[12] In this doctrine, the Real is what is permanent. Thus, by definition, the phenomenal world, with all of its transience, is unreal because it is impermanent. This was a common view of Hinduism and Buddhism in Java, as elsewhere.

Nonduality is commonly found as a philosophical doctrine in Javanese Islamic mystical works. But rather than the Old Javanese phrase *bhinneka tunggal ika*, we find such Modern Javanese phrases as *tunggal tan tunggal* (one but not one) or *roro tan roro* (two but not two) to capture the essence of Truth or Reality. Some of the quotes in preceding chapters reflect this doctrine. In the *Kitab Fatahurrahman,* written in Kartasura at the time of the destruction of the VOC fortress in 1741, the reader could find the familiar mystical doctrine that worshiper and the worshiped are not different:

> Essentially there is no difference
> between the seer and the seen;
> subject and object of the vision are the same;
> the seer is none other [than the seen].[13]

This text also usefully reminds us that orthodox dualistic doctrines of Reality were also known in Java, of the kind associated with the Ṣūfī master al-Junayd (d. 910):

> Being is twofold:
> first the Real one,
> the Absolute Essence,
> . . .
> secondly the metaphorical one,
> named limited being.[14]

But doctrines of nonduality were clearly the norm in Javanese Ṣūfī literature of this period. For example, in the Javanese version of *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-Nabī* (The gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet), one passage reads,

> It is proper for this to be strived for in your doings,
> that you should be certain that there is no duality.
> For the expert in Unity,
> one yet not one is the nature of life.[15]

The conventional Javanese philosophical position of this period was monistic rather than monotheistic. That is, rather than being premised on the unity of God, it was premised on the unity of all Being. The most characteristically Javanese expression of this view was in the doctrine of the unity of *kawula* and *gusti,* of servant and lord. This was both an expression of the unity of humankind and God, and a picture of an idealized unity between temporal servants and lords—one that, as discussed below, was no threat to earthly hierarchies because it was only meant to exist on a higher, mystic plane.[16]

The unity of *kawula* (subject) and *gusti* (lord) is repeatedly asserted in Javanese texts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is expressed as follows in *Kitab Daka,* a mystical work bound with the Kartasura MS *Kitab Fatahurrahman* and evidently written at the same time, in 1741:

> Look not upon two
> in the being of servant and lord.
> For the servant exists no more;
> his being is negated

and he possesses it not.
Indeed truly is he void,
for he is replaced by the Immaterial.
Know the All-Disposing:
[your] actions are the doings of God the Creator.[17]

In this doctrine, the hierarchies (religious and social) of the temporal world were, like that world itself, ultimately unreal. The eternal realm, the Real, was characterized by nonduality. But this reality was realizable only at a mystical, supernatural level. These eternal truths were not matters of this phenomenal world. Hence the hierarchies of this world were not threatened by doctrines of the ultimate mystical unity of all. Indeed, the very multiformity of the phenomenal world, its hierarchies and impermanences, confirmed the unreality of this world and thereby, by inference, the truth of the doctrine that nonduality and permanence were characteristic of the realm of the Real.

The Real was, by definition and belief, different from the temporal experience of humankind; it was eternal, permanent, monistic, and attainable only by mystic practices and/or the boon of divine grace. In such a system of belief, paradox was a standard tool of analysis. That something was observably not so confirmed that, on a higher plane, it was so. That the world was characterized by impermanence confirmed that Reality was permanent. That human beings were defined by positions in a hierarchy confirmed that, on a higher plane, all were one. To the mystic who achieved insight into higher Truths, that humans were not gods confirmed that she or he was God.

The dominant mode of mystic synthesis in Java thus made possible a reconciliation between the realm of faith and the social realm. For a temporal lord (*gusti*) it was possible both to believe that he or she was at one with God as a servant (*kawula*) of the Real and at one with his or her own worldly *kawula*, while nonetheless observing in exquisite detail the social space between lords and underlings. Commoner devotees of mysticism could equally be reassured that they, like all Being, were part of the nonduality of the Real, whatever their day-to-day social experience.

This did not, however, necessarily constitute (as it might) a prescription for unalloyed quietism. Javanese history, as exemplified in preceding chapters, offers manifold examples of individuals and communities inspired to action in this world by their sense of the supernatural and religious. *Suluk Garwa Kancana* admonished pious Javanese monarchs

to arm themselves with the scriptures as their subjects, piety as their bow, *dhikr* as their quiver and the *Qur'ān* as their arrows, to go into battle defended by a "fortress of clear vision, penetrated by faith," wearing *khal:* (Reality) as a crown crested by the Ṣūfī way (*tarekat*), with the *Shari'a* as their lower garment.[18] Thus did *Suluk Garwa Kancana* reconcile the martial traditions of Javanese kingship with Sufism.

In its call to action, this faith could also undermine the punctilio of social hierarchy, as in the case of the advisors of Mangkubumi's brother Buminata, who admonished him for snobbery in violation of the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadith,*[19] or the two seers who chastised Mangkunĕgara I for his "sinful arrogance, . . . boasting character, . . . exaggerated self-reliance and self-praise."[20] When it came to holy figures in particular, temporal lords could find themselves obliged to recognize an uncomfortable immediacy in the unity of *kawula* and *gusti.* But religious leaders could also find their standing was no protection against defeat and death at the hands of temporal powers, as in the case of Sunan Giri's destruction by the forces of Sultan Agung in 1636, the killing of a succeeding lord of Giri by *kraton* forces in 1680, or the slaughter of R. Pangulu and his people by VOC and *kraton* troops in 1743. Employing the techniques of paradox and the obscuring language of Javanese mysticism, Javanese mystics of the age would have seen all of this as evidence that, on a higher and more real level, all was one.

The mystics of Java in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries generally regarded the law as the proper container, the necessary context, for mysticism. The antinomian tendencies that are present in mystical experience were to be reined in by the *Shari'a,* at least for beginners. Whether adepts at a higher level were to be similarly constrained may be questioned. One of the criticisms of Haji Mutamakin in *Sĕrat Cabolek* was that he "held firm to the stage of Reality (*Ḥaqīqa)* but rejected the stage of the law (*Shari'a).*"[21] *Kitab Daka* of 1741 quotes the Prophet as saying,

> "Comprehend true ritual prayer.
> It is the Law [*Shari'a*] and Reality [*Ḥaqīqa*]
> and the extinction of gnosis [*ma'rifa*]."

There was also some tendency toward what Zoetmulder calls radical monism.[22] This is exemplified in the *suluk* ascribed to Pakubuwana III, which tells readers to abandon prayer and praise of God, the fast, the

payment of religious tax, recitation of the *Qur'ān,* and the doing of good works. As noted in chapter 6 above, this work tells mystics,

> You are neither Muslim nor *kāfir*. . . .
> Look upon the world—it exists not.
> You alone exist, . . .
> with divine acts and attributes.
> Yea, you are the source of praise and the source of veneration.
> You are the essence of worship.[23]

Such radical monism appears, however, to have been unusual in the sources of this period. Given the large number of Javanese MSS that have never been studied, one cannot be certain of such a conclusion, but the materials examined during the research that underlies this book (a substantial body of material, read over a period of several decades) suggest this to be the case. Later, radical monism was to become a more common style of mysticism in Java.

This mystic synthesis made possible the reconciliation of social and philosophical elements that might, in other circumstances, have been thought to be contradictory. A philosophical position that viewed the phenomenal world as unreal and divinity as immanent was reconciled with a religion that saw the world as a real creation of a God who was transcendent. This was achieved by maintaining the philosophy of the former and adopting the outer symbols, rituals, and (rather selectively) the law of the latter. The idea that all being was one, particularly that *kawula* and *gusti* were one, was reconciled with a hierarchical social order by rendering the former a truth pertaining only to the mystic realm and the latter evidence of the disunity and transience that characterized the temporal world in its unreality. And none of this required the burning of the Hindu-Javanese books or denial of the reality of powers such as Ratu Kidul, Sunan Lawu, and multiple local spirits.

Hence a strong commitment to Islam as the religious element in Javanese identity came to be firmly entrenched. To be Javanese was to be Muslim. One wonders what Javanese Muslims engaged in the *ḥajj* thought if they met Muslims from some part of the world where the compromises with the local were less profound, or at least significantly different. Or, in particular, what they would have made of an encounter with a puritanical Wahhābī reformer, with his opposition to saint worship, compromises with local customs, and such breaches of religious

law as consumption of alcohol. A time would come—later in the nineteenth century—when such encounters supported a reforming thrust in Javanese Islam that was to change the social setting dramatically. But one suspects that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most pious Javanese Muslims would have felt their version of the faith to be superior to the austere certainties of the Wahhābīs.

Challenges to the Javanese religious and cultural synthesis of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were already forming just over the horizon of Javanese perceptions in the period when this study draws to a close. The eighteenth-century Wahhābīs of Arabia were the first stage of reform and renewal movements that would sweep across and transform the Islamic world, continuing to exert great influence down to the present. In Sumatra, the Padris of Minangkabau were the first example in the Indonesian archipelago of such reformism. As Javanese scribes were writing out *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* in 1815, in Minangkabau the Padris were on the point of victory in civil war, on the verge of introducing something much more like an Islamic state. But they were not able to do that in the end because of a second new element that would have a major impact in Sumatra, in Java, and elsewhere in the archipelago: Dutch colonialism. The Dutch intervened in Sumatra in 1821 and took the last Padri stronghold in 1838.[24] After their victory over Dipanagara in the Java War of 1825–30, for the first time the Dutch were able to impose nineteenth-century-style exploitative colonialism over Java, which would cause major social, political, and economic changes—and with them transformations in the cultural and religious spheres.

In the circumstances of the later nineteenth century, the mystic synthesis described in this volume faced serious challenges and ceased to be the dominant mode of identity for Javanese. By around the 1850s Javanese Islamic society began to divide itself into two communities: the *wong putihan* (white people), who identified themselves as devout Muslims, and the *wong abangan* (red or brown people), for whom Islam was a significantly less important force in their lives. By the end of the century there were Javanese intellectuals who wrote works of literature saying that the Islamization of Java was a great mistake, while Islamic reformers were admonishing followers not to attend performances of the *wayang*. The first Javanese Christian communities emerged in the nineteenth century. On the basis of the evidence used in this book and described above, none of this would have seemed possible in the period before the Java War. There is much to be studied before these tumultu-

ous developments can be historically described and analyzed—and that study is under way as this book is being written—but it is already clear that the changes of the nineteenth century in Java were of long-term consequence, for they provided the foundation for the harsh and eventually bloody political and communal conflicts of the twentieth century.

The achievement of a dominant mode of mystic synthesis in Java has been seen here principally with reference to the literate elite, who left the records upon which historians must rely. But, as noted above, a few other sources suggest that what we can see with regard to the elite was also more widely found in the society. This mystic synthesis made possible the flowering of an aristocratic culture of great sophistication. But it seems to have had about it a social and intellectual conservatism that left it ill-equipped to face the challenges of the nineteenth century colonial and Islamic revolutions. Dipanagara's rebellion was a deeply conservative episode that failed utterly and at great cost.

Why, in given circumstances, a society proves too conservative to respond creatively to changing times is often difficult to explain. One is at considerable risk of tautology, arguing that a society did not respond creatively because it was too conservative, the evidence that it was too conservative being that it did not respond creatively. In the Javanese case, however, one element stands out: what I have elsewhere called "the long shadow of Sultan Agung."[25] As noted in chapter 2 above, Agung was the first of the great royal reconcilers of Javanese and Islamic identity, so far as can be known on the basis of the surviving evidence. He was a pious Muslim, it seems, but also the lover of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean. Both Javanese and VOC records confirm his standing as the greatest monarch of the Mataram dynasty. He embodied and forever after symbolized the mystic synthesis that, after further challenges and development, became the dominant mode of religious identity in Java by the later eighteenth century. And Agung brought to this symbolism the authority of being Islamized Java's greatest warrior king. When Ratu Pakubuwana launched her Islamizing thrust in the court of Pakubuwana II, she turned to texts from the time of Sultan Agung, as seen in chapter 5. Like other Javanese kings and aristocrats, Dipanagara greatly admired Agung.[26] But while Dipanagara could go to war and fail against the Europeans, as had Sultan Agung, there was little else in the history and legend of Sultan Agung to guide Javanese in facing the unprecedented circumstances of Dutch colonial power in the nineteenth century. Thus it may have been the very stature of Sultan Agung as the

epitome of the mystic synthesis that inhibited more creative responses.

It is important to emphasize that there is no record of broad social divisions over religious identity before the Java War. There is no evidence in any source known to me—whether Dutch or Javanese—of the existence of a *putihan/abangan* distinction as found later in the nineteenth century. In Geertz's well-known work *The Religion of Java,* based on field work in East Java in the 1950s, the *putihan/abangan* distinction is labeled misleadingly *santri/abangan,* with *santri* standing for the self-consciously Islamic community within Javanese society. This term may cause confusion in the minds of readers, for the term *santri* is well attested in Javanese sources of the period studied here, and has appeared above. It needs to be emphasized that the term meant a student of religion. If such students gathered at a religious boarding school, it was called a *pĕsantren* (place of the *santri*). *Santris* were among the groups who were, in effect, full-time or professional religious in precolonial Java. These included the *pĕngulus* who ran the mosques, lesser mosque officials (*kĕtib, modin*) and others who served mosque establishments, people who cared for holy graves, and teachers who ran *pĕsantrens*. Such people were often collectively called the *kaum* ("the people," from Arabic *qawm*). In court cities and towns, they lived in specific areas adjacent to the main mosque known as *kauman,* just as artisans or traders lived in their specific, named quarters. The *kaum* were also, it seems, sometimes called *wong putihan* (white people).[27] The *kaum* or *putihan* were professionally pious. They were religious officials, while the *santri* were religious seekers, but their existence was something quite different from the social separation and conflict that was later to characterize the distinction running across the whole of Javanese society between *putihan* and *abangan*. Then *wong putihan* became not religious officials but Javanese—whether farmers, traders, artisans, or whatever—who defined themselves as devout practicing Muslims, as opposed to the *wong abangan,* who did not.

The mystic synthesis achieved in Java in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rested, as noted above, on a trade-off. Islamic ritual life and firm Islamic social identity were reconciled with older philosophical ideas and indigenous spiritual forces. In the nineteenth century this trade-off came under challenge from two directions. Firm Islamic social identity became a liability for elites who sought their futures under the conditions of Dutch colonial rule, the older philosophical ideas and belief in indigenous spiritual forces came under challenge from more reformist

Islam, and dissension was set in train that would lead to social division and conflict. The mystic synthesis thus rested on a compromise that was fragile, that was easily challenged in the more modern circumstances of the nineteenth century, and to which it was to prove to have few answers. Except for those who still embraced that synthesis—of whom there are still many today—mysticism continued to offer its refuge from a transient, confusingly multiform, but reassuringly unreal world.

Notes

[1] *Sějarah wiwit Nabi Adam dumugi ratu-ratu tanah Jawi,* MN 192, pp. 9–30.

[2] Surakarta *kraton* MS 210 Na-B, pp. 2–3; Berl. SB. Or. Oct. 1224 (A), ff. 4v., 5r.

[3] *BTJ(BP),* vol. XXVIII, pp. 5–7. Full Javanese text and English translation in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 279–82.

[4] J. W. Winter, "Beknopte beschrijving," p. 82.

[5] *Cabolek* (1885), pp. 55–56; Soebardi, *Cabolek,* p. 114; Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 149.

[6] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 269.

[7] *Babad Nitik Samběrnyawa* SB PB A.99, p. 418.

[8] *Wulangreh* canto X:25–26.

[9] Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 132–33.

[10] Valuable overviews of Javanese mystical works are to be found in Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme* (English ed.: *Pantheism and Monism*); and in B. M. Schuurman, *Mystik und Glaube in Zusammenhang mit der Mission auf Java* (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933).

[11] For a fuller discussion than presented here, see M. C. Ricklefs, "Unity and Disunity in Javanese Political and Religious Thought of the Eighteenth Century," *MAS* vol. 26, no. 4 (1992), pp. 663–78.

[12] Soewito Santoso (ed. and transl.), *Sutasoma: A Study of Javanese Wajrayana* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1975), pp. 578–79. The late Professor P. J. Zoetmulder gave me helpful advice on the translation of this passage.

[13] Drewes, *Directions,* pp. 54–55, 60–61.

[14] Ibid., pp. 78–79.

[15] Johns, *Gift,* pp. 48–49, and Zoetmulder, *Pantheisme,* pp. 111, 116 (English ed. pp. 99, 104), have Javanese texts and translations (which differ slightly from mine).

[16] I have also argued this point in "Unity and Disunity," p. 676.

[17] IOL Jav. 83 (IO 3102) (A), p. 8. Javanese text in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* p. 257.

[18] Text, translation, and discussion in Ricklefs, *Seen and Unseen Worlds,* pp. 112–25; see also pp. 47–49 in this volume.

[19] *BG* vol. I, p. 62; see p. 157 in this volume.

[20] *BG* vol. II, p. 40; see pp. 165–66 in this volume.

[21] Text and translation (which differs slightly from mine) in Soebardi, *Cabolek,* p. 66.

[22] *Pantheisme,* ch. 9.

[23] *Sěrat Suluk,* Surakarta *kraton* MS 244 Na, pp. 37–38.

[24] For a brief account of the Padri episode, see Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia.*

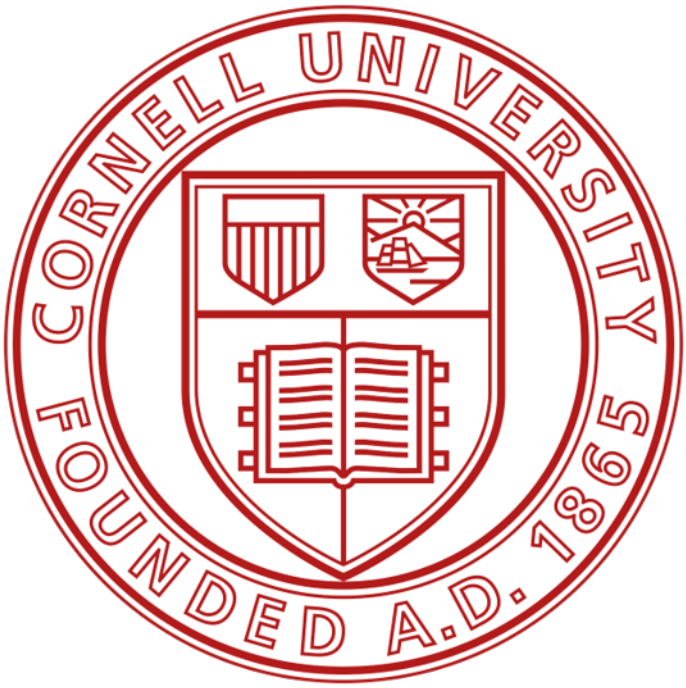
[25] Merle C. Ricklefs, "Islamising Java: The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung," pp. 469–82 in *L'horizon nousantarien: Mélanges en hommage à Denys Lombard,* vol. I, *Archipel* no. 56 (1998).

[26] See his comments on Agung as reported in Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, p. lxxiii n. 246.

[27] Carey, "Pangeran Dipanagara," vol. I, p. 93.

GLOSSARY

abangan	"the red or brown ones," term used for nominal Muslims
babad	chronicle
dhikr	remembrance; a Ṣūfī form of devotion through repetition of holy formulae, the names of God, etc., as a means to achieve mystic ecstasy
fiqh	religious jurisprudence
gamĕlan	Javanese orchestra, consisting almost entirely of percussion instruments
Garĕbĕg	thrice-annual Javanese Islamic festivals, consisting of Garĕbĕg Mulud (on 12 Mulud) in celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, Garĕbĕg Puwasa (on 1 Sawal) to celebrate the end of the fasting month, and Garĕbĕg Bĕsar (on 10 Bĕsar) in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son and of the pilgrimage to Mecca
Garudha	mythical eaglelike beast
guru	teacher
gusti	lord
ḥadīth	tradition concerning the life of the Prophet
haji	one who has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca
ḥajj	the pilgrimage to Mecca
imām	leader in prayer; the leader of one of the four orthodox (Sunni) schools of law
jihād	holy war
kāfir	infidels
kakawin	Old Javanese literary work in Indian meters
kawi	older, in principle pre-Islamic, mode of Javanese language and literature, including what would now be regarded as Old Javanese, Middle Javanese and archaic Modern Javanese
kawula	servant
kitab	book, especially one dealing with Islamic religious matters



Cornell University